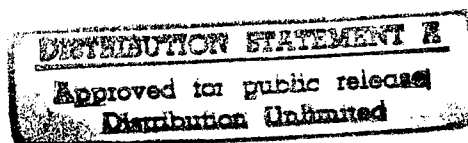


JPRS-UPA-89-007  
1 FEBRUARY 1989



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# ***JPRS Report***



## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-007

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## **Estonian Komsomol Protests USSR Constitutional Amendments**

### **ESSR Komsomol Plenum Resolution**

*18000327a Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
16 Nov 88 p 1*

[Text "Resolution of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee of 15 November 1988 on the Draft USSR Laws on Changes and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) and on Election of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] The Estonian Komsomol Central Committee, having considered the draft laws on changes to the USSR Constitution and on the election of USSR people's deputies submitted for national debate, has decided that these drafts do not accord with the expanded rights of the union republics and the democratization sealed in the resolution of the 19th Party Conference. Adoption of the drafts in the form submitted legally eliminates the sovereignty of the union republics and restricts economic, cultural and public independence. The draft laws were drawn up without the participation of the union republics and they reflect the desire for further extreme centralization and are totally at variance with the interests of the union republics and essentially do not accord with the idea of Leninist federalism, replacing it with a Stalinist design for autonomy.

Proceeding from the above, the Komsomol Central Committee resolves as follows:

1. To deem the draft laws on changes in the USSR Constitution and the election of people's deputies undemocratic since many of their provisions do not accord with the resolution of the 19th Party Conference on further expanding the rights of the union republics, reject sovereignty, seal unequal representation for the union republics in resolving national issues, and curtail democracy in elections.
2. To submit to the extraordinary session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on 16 November 1988 in accordance with Article 101 of the Constitution of the Estonian SSR, draft resolutions of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet in accordance with appendices Nos 1 and 2.
3. To approve the appeal to the Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol central committees of union republics.
4. To assign Komsomol Central Committee members comrades A. Almann and N. Sharov, as members of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee and U. Laanema as leader of the republic Komsomol to introduce in the agenda for the Komsomol Central Committee plenum that is to take place on 18 November 1988 the question of the draft USSR law on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) and the USSR draft law on the election of peoples' deputies. To

deem it necessary to explain to those present at the Komsomol Central Committee plenum the reasons for adoption of this decision by the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee plenum and to solicit for the Komsomol Central Committee plenum to state its position on this issue and on the creation of a commission made up of representatives of the union republics to work comprehensively on questions of constitutional reform and improvement of the political system.

5. To inform the deputies of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet who are members of the Komsomol about the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee plenum resolution and recommend that at the 16 November 1988 session of Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet they support the negative position of the Komsomol Central Committee plenum with regard to the draft laws and solicit for the introduction of additions and changes to the Constitution of the Estonian SSR.

6. To deem it necessary for the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to work on a draft new constitution for the Estonian SSR and the draft of an all-union agreement from the side of the Estonian SSR.

Proceeding from the need to coordinate the work to define the mutual relations of the Estonian SSR and the USSR and accelerate work on the new Estonian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law), to deem it necessary to form a constitutional commission under the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and to augment its composition before 30 November 1988 with representatives of the public and public-political organizations in the Estonian SSR. To assign to the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee at the session of 24 November 1988 the task of discussing and confirming representatives of the republic Komsomol organization as part of the above-mentioned commission.

7. To publish the position of the plenum in this matter in the youth press in the republic and to submit it to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Komsomol Central Committee.

### **Appeal to National Komsomol**

*18000327a Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
16 Nov 88 p 1*

[Text "Appeal of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee to the Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol Central Committees of the Union Republics"]

[Text] The Estonian Komsomol Central Committee 6th Plenum took place on 15 November 1988. It discussed the draft USSR Law on Changes and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and the USSR Law on Election of USSR People's Deputies that have been submitted for national debate.

The plenum decided that these drafts are undemocratic since most of the main provisions are at variance with the resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference that sealed the further democratization of Soviet society and extended the rights of the union republics and decentralization. Proceeding from this, the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee plenum deems it necessary to remove from the agenda for the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet scheduled for 29 November 1988 the question of the USSR Law on Changes and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and the USSR Law on Election of USSR People's Deputies.

Taking into account the fact that the resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference indicated the need to elect the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the first half of 1989 we consider it possible to adopt Section 13, "The Electoral System," in the draft USSR Law on Changes and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR while retaining the basic provision on universal equal and direct electoral right sealed in the existing USSR Constitution.

We deem it possible to adopt the USSR Law on Election of People's Deputies with the introduction of changes according to which the adoption of and changes and additions to the USSR Constitution and other constitutional laws can take place only after approval of them by all the union republics.

For the purposes of a comprehensive review of questions of effecting constitutional reform and improving the political system of the USSR it is also proposed that a state commission be set up on the basis of representation for all the union republics.

The above-mentioned drafts were drawn up by central and state bodies without the involvement of the union republics and without considering the interests of the union republics. The danger of centralization of power in the hands of all-union bodies can be traced in the drafts.

The 19th All-Union Party Conference resolution "On Interethnic Relations" stated that within the framework of perestroika in the political system it is necessary to take steps to further develop and strengthen Soviet federation on the basis of reinforcing democratic principles. The same resolution seals the provision that takes into account extension of the rights of the union republics and the transfer of a number of functions of the central bodies to the local level and increased independence for the union republics. The resolution also notes that one of the central tasks is to create conditions for increasing the independence of the regions.

In his work "On the Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomy'" V.I. Lenin deemed it necessary to leave the USSR only with respect to military and diplomatic matters but in everything else to restore the full independence of the separate people's commissariats.

A number of the changes and additions to the USSR Constitution are moving in opposite directions. Essentially they are at variance with the idea of Leninist federalism, replacing it with Stalinist principles of autonomy.

Proceeding from the above we call on the Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol central committees of the union republics to conduct an in-depth analysis of the draft USSR Law on Changes and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and the USSR Law on Election of People's Deputies and to support the proposal to set up on the basis of equality a constitutional commission under the USSR Supreme Soviet to conduct comprehensive work on questions of effecting reform in the political system and Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR.

#### **LiSSR First Secretary Brazauskas Addresses Party-Economic Aktiv**

*18000323a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
16 Nov 88 pp 1-2*

[Unattributed report: "A Meeting of the Republic Party-Economic Aktiv. The Opening Address by Comrade A.K. Brazauskas"; N.N. Slyunkov speech published in JPRS UPA-88-057, 9 December 1988]

[Text]As already reported, a meeting of the republic party-economic aktiv took place on 14 November in Riga.

We present here the opening address delivered by Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary A.K. Brazauskas at that meeting and the speech by CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary N.N. Slyunkov.

#### **The Opening Address by Comrade A.K. Brazauskas.**

Dear comrades. This is now the fourth day that CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov has been a guest in our republic. Permit me on your behalf once again to extend a cordial welcome to our honored guest.

These days, filled with numerous meetings with representatives of the various strata of the workers in the republic, have been days of intense work. Nikolay Nikitovich has had an opportunity to acquaint himself with the course of perestroika in our republic and with how we are resolving the tasks of accelerating socioeconomic development on the basis of introduction of scientific and technical progress, and with the sociopolitical situation in the republic.

These days have been instructive and extremely useful for us also, the republic leaders, and for the many representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia and the collectives of industrial and rural production facilities, with whom, in our view, there have been very

fruitful, businesslike and candid meetings and conversations. We are grateful to Nikolay Nikitovich for the very valuable advice and wishes that will help us to organize our work better and solve more successfully the great and complex tasks facing the party organization in the republic.

In short, in opening this meeting of the republic party-economic aktiv all that remains for me to do is briefly describe the status of our affairs as we understand them today.

Briefly, the development of the republic's economy. National income growth rates, industrial and agricultural production, and increases in labor productivity are outstripping the rates outlined in the five-year plan. A reduction has been seen in materials intensiveness in social production, along with growth in the output-capital ratio.

However, no radical improvement has taken place these matters or in raising the technical level and quality of output produced. As before, questions of accelerating scientific and technical progress and introducing new equipment and progressive technologies on a republic-wide scale are not being coordinated. No effective system has been set up to integrate science and production. As a result there has been virtually no reduction in the time taken to develop and introduce scientific and technical developments into production. The new economic mechanism is still exerting no significant effect on the receptivity of production to new equipment.

A whole series of negative trends continues in the republic's economy, together with the associated problems that require urgent resolution.

Among these we must focus attention primarily on the production of consumer goods. Although plans for their production are being overfulfilled, production is lagging behind the increases in the population's income. In order decisively to reverse this trend the soviet organs, republic and local, must make more exacting demands of the managers of all industrial associations and enterprises. Meanwhile, many enterprises whose main output is not specialized on the production of consumer goods are in many cases involved in this kind of production only symbolically.

Neither shall we successfully resolve this problem without persistent efforts to improve labor productivity. Here it is impossible to cherish hopes in general of successfully meeting plan targets for this indicator. Neither must we lose sight of the relationship between improved labor productivity and wage increases for workers. Meanwhile, this relationship is shaping up negatively this year.

The problem of improving the quality of the output that we produce is far from being satisfactorily resolved. Although as part of certified output the proportion of

top-category output is almost 68 percent, the proportion in the total volume of commercial output during the first 9 months of this year fell.

Another very acute, I would even say burning, problem is that of further intensification in agriculture and on this basis, improvement in supplies of foodstuffs for the population. Without detracting from the level that has been reached in this field, nevertheless we cannot and should not pretend that everything is proceeding normally here or that there are no stagnation phenomena in our agriculture. The yield from many agricultural crops and weight additions to livestock have not increased for a long time. Hence the low level of the return from the production potential created in the countryside, including the main element of production—the land.

As a priority we face the task of making rational use of fodder resources during the winter period, and of obtaining high milk yields and weight additions per unit of output. This is one of the real ways to improve supplies of food, particularly dairy products, for the population of the republic. At the same time it is essential to improve practical work in the planning of deliveries of livestock farming produce to the all-union stocks, and in taking better into account our real opportunities and the domestic requirements of the republic.

Among a number of unresolved problems in the social sphere, the housing problem occupies a special place. Although targets for this five-year plan are in the main being successfully fulfilled we must look ahead. It is essential to accelerate significantly the rates of housing construction. Already today the problem of construction materials is becoming increasingly acute.

In short, we understand that each one of us is obliged to work better and with greater return. This is indisputable. But to a large extent we do not link the problems in economic and social life with outdated methods. Despite the directive instructions and party and government decrees, the diktat of the all-union organs of control continues, and the rights both of enterprises and associations and of the republic management organs are being encroached upon.

We can correct the economic situation and raise the living standard of the population only by adopting cardinal measures, primarily on the basis full economic independence for the republic. We believe that the foundation of that independence should be the right of ownership of the land and its minerals and all the wealth on the territory of the republic created there and located there.

The foundation of territorial cost accounting should be economically independent state and cooperative associations, enterprises, firms and associations carrying on their activity on the principles of economic and social merit and cost-accounting self-supporting production [samookupayemost]. The republic should participate in the all-union division of labor on the basis of equivalent

mutually advantageous barter conducted on the basis of long-term agreements at the level of the enterprise and organization, and also state management organs.

Our proposals on this score have evoked broad response and support in the labor collectives, in the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka and among scholars and the creative unions, and among the public in the republic. Unfortunately, they have still not received adequate support in the appropriate all-union organs. We are counting on your perspicacity, understanding and support, esteemed Nikolay Nikitovich, in resolving these extraordinarily important questions.

Both throughout the country and in our republic the proposed changes and additions to the USSR Constitution and the draft law on elections are being actively discussed. Together with this, work is under way on a concept for subsequently amending the Fundamental Law of the Lithuanian SSR.

All of this testifies to the great political upsurge resulting from the integrated program for renewal in socialist society drawn up by the 19th All Union Party Conference. Communists and workers in the republic totally support this program and regard it as the basis for their practical activity.

Renewal in the country is inevitable. But it should take place consistently and in a deeply well-thought-out manner, giving due consideration to the opinion of the broadest strata of the population. Any manifestations of subjectivism are simply impermissible here. There is no other reading here, nor should there be.

As was noted at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo meeting, the draft documents published for national debate about which we are talking are very important prerequisites for successful realization of the first stage of political reform. And this is exactly how we should regard them. They are documents on which the entire process of democratization in our society will largely depend.

We have the clear idea that the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the union republics should be considered as a single whole. But of course, this should not infringe to the slightest degree on the inalienable right of the republics, including Soviet Lithuania, to resolve sociopolitical, economic and cultural tasks. And what is more, it should be a question of moving to further extension of the right of the sovereign republics. This is a demand of the times and of the entire process of perestroyka.

In this connection we must draw attention to the fact that in the published draft of the all-union law on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution we also see a tendency that testifies to a desire for further centralization in the sphere of state power and control. This is unacceptable. We can hardly agree with this kind of procedure of abolishing legislative acts promulgated

by the highest organs of state power and control in the union and autonomous republics, which is proposed in a number of articles in Section 15.

In this document an important role is assigned to the constitutional supervisory committee. It seems to me that the republics also should have the right to appeal to that committee. This applies first and foremost to recognizing that enactments of the USSR Council of Ministers and ministries and departments that are at variance with the Constitution and laws and socioeconomic interests of a particular union republic are unconstitutional.

There are also doubts about the advisability of the USSR establishing a single structure for the organs of state power and their powers, as set forth in articles 137 and 138 of the draft law on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution.

We think that in principle it is necessary to review the provision that the USSR Supreme Soviet "shall establish general bases and determine the main directions in the activity of republic and local organs of state power and control.

We would propose rejection of such constitutional norms as unify the legislation of all the union republics and transform the legislative process into work to duplicate USSR laws. It would be sufficient to establish that the USSR Council of the Union establishes the general principles of legislative regulation.

We believe that all these vitally important questions should be resolved now, at this stage of perestroyka in the political system, by the law on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution. It is not possible to allow this law to create additional difficulties for subsequent work to extend the rights of the union republics.

The draft law on the election of people's deputies is also being debated with the same liveliness and interest. The need for such a law was discussed at the 19th All-Union Party Conference but the published draft is provoking certain critical comments and proposals.

When talking about this draft I would like to note certain factors. First, there is the virtual elimination of election of deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet directly by citizens through direct and secret ballot. According to article 111 of the draft of amendments to the Constitution the Supreme Soviet will be elected by a congress of people's deputies. How will this express the will of the inhabitants of the union republics? For 2,250 deputies gathering in Moscow for the congress will decide who is worthy to represent Lithuania.

Second, according to the proposed standards only 7 deputies will represent Lithuania in the Council of Nationalities and 91 the RSFSR because it has many autonomous formations. We think that the autonomous

formations can be taken into consideration when forming the republic supreme soviets but at the all-union level in the Council of Nationalities the deputies should represent only a republic, and that the number of deputies should be the same for each republic, and that this should be stipulated in the draft law.

Certain doubts are also being raised by article 18 of the draft law regarding standards for representation for public organizations. What real guarantees does the law provide that some electors will not have two or even three votes in the election of USSR people's deputies? Why is it that only organizations with all-union organs have the right of representation?

These are just some of the questions that the republic leadership and public face. Numerous proposals (about 800 have been received) are being systematized and submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet. We have prepared a collective opinion of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium and the republic government. It contains a broader viewpoint of these two drafts. In the near future this document will be presented to the highest authority in the land.

At the same time, as has already been noted, there is active preparation of a draft Constitution for the Lithuanian SSR. We want to resolve in it the problem of further development of the legal status of the union republics and delineate more clearly the competence of the USSR and the republics and their rights and obligations in enhancing economic independence. This work cannot be hurried and we think that restraint and goodwill regarding it are justified.

At the same time we are reviewing the concept of the republic's sovereignty only as part of the Soviet Union. We are in favor of strengthening and defending socialism.

**Grossu Speaks at Moldavian CC CP Plenum**  
*18000264a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA*  
*in Russian 6 Nov 88 p 3*

[S.K. Grossu Speech at Moldavian CC CP Plenum]

[Text] The party's strategic course as worked out at the 27th CPSU Congress and the directives of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on deepening perestroika and comprehensive democratization of the life of society and the party are being actively transformed into concrete social and political practice. One more evidence of this is the draft of USSR Laws on Changes and Amendments of the Country's Constitution and the Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR submitted for nationwide discussion. This is a qualitatively new and big step forward in the practical realization of the political system's reform and the further development of the democratization processes.

Under these conditions, all party units should realize their vanguard role anew. Concrete ways of restructuring the work of party organs were formulated in the resolutions of the July and September (1988) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. The main thing, as M.S. Gorbachev has emphasized, is to have party organs truly engage themselves in party affairs and political, organizational and ideological work among the masses. At the same time, the role of members of elective party organs is growing significantly at all levels. Each one of us, invested with the high trust of the republic's communists, must actively participate in the study, generalization and discussion of the key questions of the work of the republic party organization and in developing political strategy and tactics for speeding up the processes of perestroika in all spheres of our life.

In this connection, the Central Committee Buro of the Communist Party of Moldavia found it advantageous to form commissions of the Central Committee: for constitutional-law questions; for party organizational and cadre work; for questions of social and economic development and for questions of the agroindustrial complex.

The creation of these commissions will make it possible to more fully employ the rich practical experience of members and candidate members of the Central Committee, to involve them more broadly in studying basic questions submitted for the examination of plenums and the Central Committee Buro of the Communist Party of Moldavia and to ensure the wide-scale and constant flow of ideas from communists comprising elective party organs.

We possess certain experience in this area. Thus in February of the current year, a resolution of the CC Buro of the Communist Party of Moldavia formed work groups of members and candidate members of the Central Committee. Together with apparatus personnel, they carried out a comprehensive study of various aspects of the work of party gorkoms and raykoms and preparation of questions for plenums and the Central Committee Buro of the Communist Party of Moldavia. The work of the work groups affected positively activation of members of elective organs and the work style of the CC apparatus. As for the composition of the formed committees, it would be proper, on approval of their chairmen, to have them submit appropriate proposals that would subsequently be examined by the next plenum of the Central Committee.

The task of improving the work of party committees calls for a radical reorganization of the structure and renewal of the party apparatus with its strict subordination and accountability to the party's elective organs. The presently existing apparatus structure is cumbersome and ineffective. It is largely aimed at replacement of state and economic organs and essentially fails to meet the requirements of the present stage of perestroika. The "retarding" effect of the party apparatus in development of intraparty democracy is obvious. A discussion on the need of bolstering the authority of elective organs and party personnel

and on the role and place of the party-committee apparatus confirmed this quite pointedly in the course of the present accountability and election campaign.

The main thing in carrying out restructuring of the apparatus is to refuse to have it split up according to the sectoral principle and to form and qualitatively bolster those of its structural parts which are engaged in the basic questions of party policy. At the same time, it is necessary to proceed from the fact that the party apparatus as part of the party's organizational structure is called upon to be first of all that instrument with whose aid the effective functioning of elective organs of the republic party organization is ensured.

The party apparatus is perestroika's active force. For this reason such of its functions as the attentive study and generalization of party work practice under the new conditions, introduction into practice of the best of its experience, analysis of processes taking place in the political, economic, social and spiritual spheres and the development of appropriate recommendations are quite important at this stage. It goes without saying that the entire work of the party committees must be distinguished by a businesslike character, openness, a critical mood and constant ties with the masses of communists and with workers.

For the reorganization of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, the CC Buro proposes a structure that is better balanced and not as cumbersome as at present. The number of personnel in the apparatus of the Central Committee will be reduced by 30 percent. The number of its departments will be reduced by half (from 16 to 8). As a result, departments of industry are being abolished: transport and communications, light industry and consumer goods, trade and personal services, construction and municipal services, science and educational institutions, culture, information and foreign relations.

The CC Buro proposes in place of the departments of party organizational work, propaganda and agitation, administrative organs, economy, agriculture and food industry to form in the CC apparatus units with essentially new functions: departments of party organizational and cadre work, ideological, constitutional-law, social-economic and agrarian. We consider that the need also exists for retaining in the apparatus structure administration of affairs, a general department and, prior to the creation at the next meeting of the Communist Party of Moldavia, a control and auditing commission, now operating as the commission of party control.

We also believe it possible to form under the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia a small group of inspectors from among experienced, promising workers included in the immediate reserve for promotion. They could concentrate on a fundamental and comprehensive study of the progress of perestroika in the localities and on providing practical

assistance to party committees in the introduction of advanced party-work experience. It is proposed to entrust looking after rayon and city party organizations to responsible organizers of the department of party organization and cadre work.

It is contemplated to have on the staffs of departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia new positions for consultants who will be engaged in working on current problems of party management and providing assistance to pertinent commissions of the Central Committee.

The reorganization of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia is not a mechanical process of abolishing some and creating other units, reducing positions and establishing new ones. We have to create a party apparatus that is qualitatively different from today's. In it, as emphasized by the CPSU Central Committee, personnel will be promoted who not only share the policy of perestroika but also have participated actively and creatively in the process of renewal, devote all their energies to the common cause and know how to achieve success. Whoever is not in a position to change the state of affairs for the better in an entrusted sector and remains indifferent to the ongoing changes, that person does not have the right to occupy a supervisory post.

It is natural that in connection with structural changes in the apparatus the distribution of functional duties among personnel, beginning with the first secretary of the Central Committee and ending with the instructor, is bound to be changed.

Questions may arise in connection with the existence in the CC apparatus structure of the social-economic and agrarian departments. This fact should in no way be considered as an attempt to only replace the sign on the former sectoral departments. The content of the functions of these units would be aimed primarily at the solution of strategic tasks and at realization of the party's social and economic policy through the cadres of soviet and economic organs and through control of their activities.

On the other hand, we must understand that the change in the style and methods of party work will not relieve party committees of responsibility for the end social and economic result. For this reason, the CC apparatus must have personnel, even in a minimum quantity, who know well the potentialities of soviet and economic cadres and can properly relate their work to the realization of the party's program tasks in the localities.

The abolition of a part of the departments in party committees must not result in weakening of overseeing different sectors of the republic's economy and culture. Consequently corresponding qualitative changes also must be carried out in the Council of Ministers and ispolkoms of local soviets with the expectation that they



could assume those administrative and control functions which up to the present time have been performed by sectoral departments of party committees.

The new structure and the new authorized list of staff positions of the CC apparatus are planned to go into effect as of 1 January 1989.

We consider it necessary to inform plenum participants of the recommendations of the CC Buro on the reorganization of party gorkom and raykom apparatuses. It has already commenced and is proceeding in full correspondence with the directives of the CPSU Central Committee while taking into account changes and proposals from the localities. At the Kishinev Party Gorkom, it is planned to reduce the size of the apparatus by 10-15 percent, including one position of the gorkom secretary. Instead of the existing three sectoral departments, there will be created a department of social and economic development and out of the departments of propaganda and agitation, science and educational institutions, an ideological department. It is contemplated to retain in the gorkom apparatus the organizational and general departments and the party commission.

The CC Buro recommended to the Beltsy, Bendery, Rybnitsa and Tiraspol gorkoms to study the question of similar changes in the structure of their apparatuses but without reduction of their size.

In party raykoms, it is contemplated, without reducing the size of the apparatus, to abolish sectoral departments at whose expense the organizational and ideological units could be bolstered. It is planned to have instead of a general department a sector for office work and a party commission as part of the structure of all party raykoms.

It is necessary for the republic's party committees to utilize the reorganization of their apparatus for cardinal restructuring of its work. The aim is first to release party

personnel from inappropriate functions and to lend to the operation of the apparatus greater effectiveness both in the solution of current problems of immediate party work as well as in providing strategic developments of the designated course and their realization and in intensifying analytical work and forecasting the development of social and political processes.

Each one entrusted with working on the renewal of the party apparatus needs to creatively rethink its style, forms and methods of intraparty and mass political work, to develop democratization in every possible way and to maintain public accessibility and openness at all levels of party operation.

It is necessary to display due concern for all released party cadres. Of these, worthy ones should be sent to bolster important sectors of state, economic and public work and lower party units.

The reorganization of the party apparatus is not just an organizational act whose accomplishment will contribute in itself to cardinal changes in all our work. We must deal with it first and foremost only as a prerequisite, an initial position making it possible to take a new step in ensuring a higher level of party management of all sides of the republic's social and political life.

The main work of the party committees of all levels and their apparatus lies ahead. And it should be carried out in a new way without getting lost in details and spending energy on trifles. It is necessary to use only political methods with a clear understanding of one's highest responsibility for a comprehensive approach to the solution of economic problems, for acceleration of social and economic development, for the realization of programs of boosting the living standard of the people and the political reform of society and for the organizational and ideological support of perestroika.

### Academician Supports True Pluralism For The Church

18060003f Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE  
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 (signed  
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[Article, publishing under the heading "Discussions," by S.B. Filatov: "Do We Need a 'Country Within a Country?'" ; Sergey Borisovich Filatov is a candidate of historical sciences and a science associate at the U.S. and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This is the first time he appears in our journal. Words/Passages in boldface/italics as published]

[Text] At present, it is customary to say that "the church is not separate from society." However, there are grounds to doubt this truth. The church is a social institution which does not fit in the notion of the "monolithic unity" of Soviet society. We speak about "pluralism" but words are words and deeds are deeds.

Up to now, there has been one sphere of social life where the clergy was permitted. This was peace-movement activities abroad. But as for the mass of believers, we were accustomed to feel that the church was a thing for the elderly. Of course, there was a significant grain of truth here. In any European country, a majority of those praying in church was comprised of elderly persons. But in our country this statistical pattern assumed a certain institutional significance, and a pensioner in church was quite normal while an active worker was an anomaly. Thus, the idea was promoted that the church somehow exists outside of society. A pensioner to a significant degree is excluded from social life and for this reason his presence in a church could be tolerated. But a religiously active worker, engineer or scientist was the "servant of two lords" and this was "scandalous" and psychologically intolerable. "Are you with us or not?" was how we would pose the question to him. Such an attitude toward an institution which legally and actually was completely "ours" and brought together persons about whom there were no grounds to suspect of disloyalty to socialism, put the church in the situation of a sort of "country within a country." The clergy appeared like foreigners who live by some special laws which do not extend to the remaining population of the nation while the regular churchgoers are like persons with a dual citizenship (in certain heads "internal emigres").

Publishing policy has also been founded on the unclear assumption of a "country within a country." The literature which is viewed as reflecting the views of churches existing in the USSR is not printed by the state publishing houses. Particularly odious is the turning of the publishing of the Bible into a "matter of the church." The monument to world culture does not have an academic edition in our country. An ignorance of the Bible on the part of humanities specialists and the failure to require knowledge of it for students of history, philosophy and philology ultimately are a blow not against the church but rather the culture of our society. It would be possible to give other

examples of publishing policy which go beyond the limits of common sense. The lives of the saints are the main genre of ancient Russian literature. At present, a majority of the readers perceives these as fables and legends. It would be very difficult to imagine a person who, having read about the miracles committed by Vasilii the Blessed or how Ioann of Novgorod traveled through the skies to Jerusalem would turn to faith. Judging from publishing (and library) policy, the works of religious thinkers and theologians should also be outside the mental perusal of a curious reader. Any persons desiring to read these books is able to get his hands on them in one way or another, but the turning of one of the main ideological traditions of Russian and European culture into a private matter of the Church narrows the cultural horizons of Soviet society and limits the opportunities to understand the fate of both our own nation and the fates of other countries developing on the basis of Christian spiritual values. In this regard, the absence in Russian of works by leading thinkers of Western Christianity of previous centuries and our times is irremediable. The absence of translations of R. Guardini, K. Barth and J. Maritain and other thinkers of our times deprives us of not only a complete understanding of the modern ideological state of Western society, but also we lose an important impulse for the development of domestic thought and culture.

We publish nonclerical philosophical literature written by non-Marxists. However, such an all-encompassing ban has not been imposed on any of the philosophical schools, including those having direct political conclusions contradicting Marxism-Leninism. And all of this, I feel, is due to an awareness of the presence of a "country within a country" in our nation. In no instance should we try to please the internal foreign ideological corpus— notion which sits deep in our mind constantly closes off the ideological gates.

Does this aid "atheistic indoctrination"? Only an extremely rarified mind would come to the church as a result of acquaintance with theological literature. One of the American Catholic specialists on evangelicalism has commented that "only a genius would find his faith in books." But a few persons of great intellect and diverse education do seek out their way and find it. At the same time, good Marxists, as a rule, are intellectually impotent in colliding with theological thought because they do not know it at all. I would risk voicing the heretical opinion that lack of contact with religious thought deprives our society of an important impulse for development in certain areas of the spiritual sphere, ethics, for example. Our current debates about morality and culture to a certain degree suffer from an intellectual primitivism. Of course, in several decades we will be able to overcome this primitivism but a principled discussion could help us avoid the necessity of the long and tiring experience of reinventing the wheel.

A love for the beautiful has forced us to restore the rights of citizenship to church art, including architecture, icon painting and music. It seems obvious that Rublev's

"Trinity" or the ancient church music have a much greater influence on the souls of others and could sooner bring them to the church than the works of Maritain and Vasiliy the Great which require great philosophical and philological erudition. But in terms of art the value of which is so great and indisputable, the desire to maintain the barrier to the "country within a country" has been weaker than common sense.

We have endeavored to persuade ourselves that all the ecclesiastical and Christian, while at one time in deep antiquity did play a progressive role, presently has no value. Art, the uniqueness and originality of which stem from the uniqueness of Christian awareness and church dogma has been depicted as the creation of secret anticlericals and dubious proof has been found of a "spontaneous people's materialism." An honest admission of the obvious that there is a Christian, clerical essence of the masterpieces of medieval art psychologically has been (and presently remains for some) a completely impossible question.

There is the deeply rooted conviction that atheistic propaganda and the practice of isolating the church have led to the secularizing of Soviet society and to the establishing of a materialist ideology. This evokes profound doubts. The level of the secularization of Soviet society is not something unique. In the 20th Century, institutionalized religion has declined sharply in all the European countries, including the capitalist ones. The data of sociological surveys indicate that the attendance rate of churches in the USSR does not substantially differ from the attendance rate of churches in England or the Scandinavian nations. The main reason for such a situation is in all instances the same—the profound change in social, cultural and economic structures in the course of the scientific and technical revolution. Of course, in our country this process has occurred more dramatically and has its own particular features. After October 1917, these changes occurred very rapidly and a new ideology was formed as a result of revolution and not evolution. Thus, we became a more secularized country than the European states. During the years of the cult of personality, repressions descended virtually on all strata of society, including on the clergy and on the believers. The repressions, without any doubt, helped to weaken the influence of the church. But is it possible to justify such methods of secularization? In the postwar period, the decline in religiousness has occurred basically in the rural population. The turning of the rural populus from the basic agent of religiousness into a religiously indifferent stratum and the shifting of the social base of the church to the city are a phenomenon characteristic not only of the USSR. In recent decades, analogous processes have been occurring, for example, in Latin America.

In the course of this strange war to isolate and exhaust the church, we have not merely exhausted and isolated the church but we have also helped to shape its social ideas and the relations inside it. I am little acquainted with the inner life of the church and I would not assume to draw categorical conclusions on what is occurring in

it. But I would like to share my impressions from sporadic contacts with believers, conclusions which come to mind as a result of acquaintance with religious studies and church publications.

Our atheistic literature asserts that affiliation with the church engenders social passivity. This assertion seems debatable to me, although it is seemingly backed up by facts. However, passivity can be the result again of the psychological sets of a "country within a country." The notion of isolating the church naturally leads the believer to alienation from social life and to the notion (albeit subconscious) that he is superfluous in the "holiday of life." All the more as the clergy does not preach its social position and sets an example of exclusiveness and alienation. Is it a good thing for society when millions of people are oriented as escapism? Scarcely so.

How do the clergy and inner life of the church appear to the outsider? One is struck by the black Volgas of the bishops which look like the local nomenklatura or foreign guests. The *Zhurnal Moskovskoy patriarkhii* [Journal of the Moscow Patriarchy] (ZhMP) periodically announces their travels abroad and the receiving of foreign guests in the residences. Do they see anyone else except each other and foreigners? The impression is created that the leadership of a social institution with ties to millions of Soviet citizens who trust it with the most important questions of their spiritual life and their conscience lives closed off in its own narrow world.

Let us leaf through the KhMP for last year. This is the official organ of the Russian Orthodox Church and seemingly reflects the life of the church, its ideas and interests. Reading the journal leaves a strange impression. A great deal is written about international, ecumenical contacts. There is a large official section on who has been awarded what, who has been appointed where, obituaries, and announcements on where individual bishops have traveled and where they performed services. There is a great deal about the whereabouts and activities of the Most Holy Patriarch Pimen and the Chairman of the Publishing Section (which is in charge of the ZhMP) the Metropolitan of Volokolamsk and Yuryev, Pitirim.

No matter how you might look, you will not find anything in the journal concerning the inner problems of the church. Perhaps it is completely free of corruption, incompetence; there are no disputes over ideological and practical questions and there are no problems in the parishes. The journal is silent about social problems. How does the church view restructuring? Are there no opinions? A majority of the believers consists of pensioners and disabled persons. Certainly the journal could say something about their problems? Or what about alcoholism and drug addiction? Or the preservation of cultural monuments? There is much else that seemingly could concern the ZhMP but it does not.

In leafing through the official organ of the Orthodox Church, one feels with surprise that one is in contact with something long familiar, with the atmosphere of the recent past, with what we now term "stagnation". This is the complacent and completely vapid style of the oblast newspapers at the beginning of the 1980s. Possibly the reader will say that if there is stagnation in the church it is all the better for Soviet power. During the years of political polarization and social clashes at the beginning of the 1920s, this was a completely justified judgment. The church and the supporters of religious conscience in their majority were either on the side of the counterrevolution or were not active and consistent supporters of building socialism. Presently in the person of believers we are involved with citizens who share the ideals of socialism and persons who comprise an inseparable part of society, regardless of all attempts to view them as a "country within a country."

But how does the psychology of a "country within a country" reflect on the basic portion of the nation's population, on the nonbelievers? They are required first of all to have no formal ties with the institutionalized religious associations. Not to cross the "frontier" is an indicator of a materialistic ideology. To cross the "frontier" is to baptize children, to get married in the church and participate in funeral services for the deceased. It should come as no surprise that very many people participate in services because believing relatives ask them, because they consider the rites beautiful and solemn or consider them a national tradition. These rites do not directly evidence religiousness. Nevertheless, for the Komsomol member, for example, this is an infraction for which one can be deprived of a Komsomol membership card. In atheistic literature just 2 or 3 years ago, one could read articles which stated that one must struggle for a "purity of ideology" by preventing the baptizing of children and funeral services. Here it was admitted that all of this does not show the religiousness of the populous.

The "depravity" of a religious service has not been established in any rational way and for this reason has assumed some magical nature. The feeling has arisen that a person participating in a church service will be mystically "tainted." In church teachings there is a certain logic but it is rather hard to find in the antichurch magic. I can rationally explain this entire terror of participating in a church service only by a view of the church as some "country within a country" to which a true Komsomol member cannot be loyal. Among a majority of people, in some consciously and in others subconsciously, there still is a sensation of a certain unseriousness or artificiality in this playing of principledness. And the bifurcation of consciousness between common sense and the requirements of a "higher order" is one of the many but still a noticeable contribution to the growing hypocrisy and social cynicism.

Just what is the disbelief of our atheists? Before the era of glasnost we could rest certain that without traditional institutionalized religiousness the most diverse beliefs

could flourish in society as these did not fall within the perusal of the fighters against the "religious opiate" precisely due to their noninstitutionalized nature. Certainly in such a situation they were not "a country within a country" and did not evoke active resistance. Let me merely recall one example, the exotic sect of Abay Borubayev which propagandized an unbelievable mixture of various mystic teachings and practiced a way of life far removed from the generally accepted ideas of the standard. The head of the sect is presently behind bars for organizing the murder of his successor.

The wide distribution of the most improbable as well as primitive beliefs is a secret to no one. But as long as they do not assume institutionalized forms, no one has any particular argument against them. It is not merely a question of the formalism of accounting for religiousness (if the number of baptisms rises in a rayon, then the local leadership is given a blow) and not only that the reckoning was kept only from formal features so that as long as there was no "organization" the carriers of religious beliefs were still "ours," the principle of "ideological monolithicity" was observed and precisely formal ideological monolithicity up to now has been our main offspring.

One of the results of such an approach to orthodoxy can be traced in the ideological concepts of the Pamyat [Memory] Society. I have run into representatives of this movement several times (and the interest, in my view, is not so much the narrow group of the members of the "society" as it is the more spontaneous and numerous movement arising around Pamyat). I do not claim a complete knowledge of its ideology. There has been no sociological research on this phenomenon and for this reason, I feel, no one at present can claim a sufficiently complete and objective analysis of the ideology of the Pamyat supporters as moreover there are hostile fractions within the movement. Common to all the supporters of Pamyat, evidently, is a strong desire for a "national rebirth of the Russian people" who supposedly have been the "victim of a conspiracy of hostile forces including Jews, other 'foreigners,' 'Masons' and the 'West'." The members of the movement are endeavoring to resurrect "truly Russian values." On the religious level there are a neopagan fraction, outright atheists and Orthodox believers. But, according to my observations, the most widespread ideological trend is the desire to consider oneself orthodox without any institutionalized religiousness and without a belief even in the main dogmas of the church.

These persons do not even have the most elementary understanding of what Christianity is. This is not what they need. This noninstitutionalized "orthodoxy" is much closer to racism, a feeling of national exclusiveness, the search for a leader, neopaganism and magic and which is far removed from traditional peasant religiousness. For several years, such a "noninstitutionalized" nonorthodoxy has been propagandized at various officially sanctioned meetings, although it represents an obvious political danger certainly for propagandizing

racial and national intolerance in our multinational country. Only after Pamyat began to seek an official status was the danger recognized.

All of this clearly demonstrates that the isolating of the church as "a country within a country" not only does not prevent the use of "orthodoxy" for dubious political purposes but even contributes to such use. Here it is not only a question of an ignorance of church ideology, but the very ambiguity of the church's position and the absence of a normal dialogue with it provoke an appeal to the prohibited and the unknown and to speculation on the ambiguity.

The principles of socialist pluralism which are now becoming established in our life, I hope, will lead to the disappearance of this "country within a country." The church and believers will be active and full participants in social life. The anachronistic, stupifying prohibitions will become a matter of history. Believers and nonbelievers will enter into an open and honest dialogue and this will help the ideological, cultural and political maturity of our society as well as raise its stability and unity. During this transitional moment one would like to say: that is enough hypocrisy and giving way to illusions.

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**Paper Warns of Anti-Soviet, Extremist Nature of Independent Clubs**

18000255a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 21 Nov 88 p 3

[V. Akimov, M. Chirkov KazTAG report: "Springs and Quiet Backwaters"]

[Text] Strolling recently through the capital's 28 Panfilov Guardsmen Park, we were the involuntary witnesses of a lively exchange of opinions among a group of young men and women. Some newspaper article or other was being discussed. While approving of what had been written as a whole, the young people, with the peremptoriness typical of youth, clearly disagreed with certain of the author's conclusions, using most often the words: perestroika, democratization, revolutionary changes, been gratifying: in the fall parks of Alma-Ata, as everywhere in our country, there could also be felt a breath of spring—the spring of social renewal.

This spring can be sensed in many things. In the rapid growth of social assertiveness included. The cleanup from the silt of stagnation which began in all spheres of our life following the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum has revealed springs of popular initiative and led to a splash of civic self-awareness. And, consequently, to an increase in the number of convinced supporters of perestroika. For this reason the stream of forces in support of socialist renewal and the country's transition to a qualitatively new level of development will broaden and strengthen constantly. And what is significant is that it has recently been augmented increasingly thanks to the social amateur activity movement: a variety of action committees, debating clubs, associations and other nontraditional public associations.

It should be noted for fairness' sake that this is essentially not that new a phenomenon. Every conceivable initiative was born in our country previously also. We recall if only the literary life of the 1920's. What artistic unions were there not at that time: the RAPP, LEF, Serapion Brothers.... Numbered in the tens! Such abrupt "splashes" occurred, as a rule, at pivotal stages, when the intellectual and social energy which had built up in society was no longer finding an outlet in the existing organizational forms of creativity, management or, say, administration. So now also perestroika has engendered a great multitude of forms of social activity aimed at the solution of long urgent problems.

Various associations—mainly of a community, social and environmental focus—are now operating in literally each city of the country and the republic. As the fruit of emancipated popular initiative, they are directed against bureaucratic wilfulness, the high-handed violation of social justice and other ugly and as yet not entirely removed results of the cult of personality and the stagnation times.

But currents stirred up by alien ideology which are alien to our system are here and there joining this powerful and objectively necessary movement. Are there really today only a few instances of socially infantile, apolitical people and, sometimes, simply ideological apostates even, possessing the sole merit of a well-mounted tongue, attempting to conduct the thoughts and actions of the people's masses. It was for this reason that at a recent plenum the Kazakh CP Central Committee raised the question of the need for a proper investigation of what is being set in motion by specific individuals and serving as reference points for their associations. What is the spiritual and moral worth of the positions to whose achievement the attention of certain action committees is geared? In other words, are they working for our common cause or pursuing reactionary, extremist, anti-humanitarian goals demoralizing society?

All these pertinent questions were the subject of concerned discussion at a recent conference-seminar in Taldy-Kurgan on problems of work with amateur associations, in which party, soviet and union officials and also the leaders of cultural, public education and physical culture and sports authorities and of republic community organizations participated. Specifically, the following information was reported thereat:

Approximately 100 amateur activity associations, whose status is not governed by any regulations and rules whatever, are operating in the republic. The majority of them are so-called leisure groups engaged in gymnastics, karate and motor scooter-riding. Others prefer activity with an outlet to the political or social spheres. We should put in this category primarily associations of an environmental focus and certain soldier-internationalist and young reserve soldier clubs. Incidentally, the number of the latter is growing particularly noticeably. Associated with them are numerous youth military-patriotic formations.

All these movements are, for the most part, of a socially useful nature and are entirely in keeping with social interests. However, they are not distinguished by organizational strength or purposiveness of action. Some associations frequently lack even a clearly formulated work program, meet irregularly and frequently fall apart as soon as it becomes a matter of specific action.

A striking illustration of this is the almost anecdotal incident which occurred in an oblast center of the republic. A group of supporters of an improvement in the environment had become enviably active in the city. It publicized instances of excessive pollution of the atmosphere in residential neighborhoods and the waters the nearby river and organized well-attended meetings in this connection. But when, at the last one, one of those present proposed as a first step the organization of a voluntary Saturday work day for the fall tree transplantation and the improvement of the embankment, its organizers... became covered with confusion and began to say something or other about the "global nature" of their goals and that they did not wish to squander their

talents on trifles. Generally, excuse the pun, they headed from the tree transplantation for the bushes [made themselves scarce]. And shortly thereafter this group, not surprisingly, collapsed.

Everything new and progressive is established, as is known, only in a struggle with what is old and outdated, and this process is attended by many difficulties. Unfortunately, in the social amateur activity movement many of its participants lack the appropriate fighting qualities. This also is a result of the stagnation period. Something else is simultaneously of concern also: instead of the action committees being helped, they are being brushed aside, as troublesome flies, without attempts being made even to get to the heart of their proposals and demands. In addition, attempts are sometimes made to rein in such "disturbers of the peace" in every possible way and take them in hand such that they themselves work within the customary framework, in which acute situations do not arise but where also, let us be frank, there are no in any way pronounced positive changes.

Need it be said that, given such approaches, problems are not so much solved as retouched into something better looking. Against this background some leaders of amateur formations, even those with nothing other than ringing phrases to their name, are acquiring in the eyes of the uninformed the romantic halo of true fighters for perestroika.

Here also attention has to be called to the fact that the amateur activity associations are frequently being used, as a screen, by demagogues and all kinds of political intriguers and adventurers. Instances of the penetration of various groups and clubs by anti-social elements, which aspire to use the new forms of work for selfish ends and are attempting to create every conceivable type of formation adhering to positions hostile to the Soviet system, have become more frequent.

There are more than sufficient instances to illustrate what has been said. Thus well known to readers from the press is the activity of the notorious "national-patriotic" fronts and the "Pamyat," "Fatherland" and "Democratic Union" clubs and societies, which are being set up, as their organizers state, to assist and support perestroika. True, each of them interprets quite distinctively the concept of assistance itself. For example, in the period of May-July of this year the "Pamyat" national-patriotic club publicly came out with slogans concerning a ban on Russian people marrying foreigners, the immediate deportation of Jews and other "non-Russians" to the regions of their "historical motherland" and bitter struggle against all who conceal their "ethnic essence".

Obviously, the aspiration of the leaders of such "patriotic" associations is to self-realization by any method, more precisely, to acquire political capital by availing themselves of dubious means and speculating on the temporary and inevitable difficulties of perestroika.

After the many years of stagnation and crude bureaucratic rule, this smacks of an "intoxication" with glasnost and freedom. And it would be appropriate here to draw a parallel with thin air with, as is known, its property of "exciting the blood". Is this not why, having obtained a decent helping thereof, inexperienced motorcyclists continually increase their speed, which does not always end auspiciously. Thus in the action committees also, evidently, such a condition frequently develops into anti-Soviet, antisocialist attacks, if, of course, it is a question not of manifest enemies of Soviet society.

And there are such, unfortunately. Let us cite, for example, the declaration being bandied about by the people attempting to form a "front" in our republic:

"We must declare to governments: we know that you are an armed force aimed against proletarians; we will act against you peacefully where this is possible for us, with weapons, when necessary."

What is most blasphemous is that these are the words of K. Marx and have been adopted by irresponsible persons attempting to set up an alternative party. In addition, they are laying claim to the organization of an "effective center of consolidation of the forces of the supporters of perestroika and of practical and theoretical assistance to the democratic movement in the country." There you have it, no more, no less! You see how, it transpires, democracy may be used!

And here we have the goal of a grouping of the city of Dzhambul: "go to Batumi, then illegally cross into Turkey and join up with neofascist currents. Then, having returned to the USSR, organize the illegal 'Union and Progress' group and carry out planned terrorist acts against party leaders, using weapons." No comment necessary, as they say!

It is our profound belief that the public must not "doze" alongside such groups and that it is necessary to enter more boldly into frank and uncompromising discussion, expose their criminal essence and show such "activists" in all their unattractiveness and deprive them of nutrient soil. In a word, long and painstaking work lies ahead, but there is no other way. Bare prohibitionism could only have the reverse effect: we would get an opposition to perestroika which had sank into the pores of society and which, as we can see, is far from inoffensive, apathy and disenchantment, particularly among the young people. The amateur activity associations are, after all, our people, our young men and women, whose strength and energy can and should be used in the democratic transformations of society. It would be easier achieving this, of course, by having emphatically strengthened party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol influence in such groups.

The first steps on this path have already been taken in the republic. Since considerable numbers of the action formations operate in a youth environment, the main

attention has been concentrated primarily on study and satisfaction of the requirements and interests of the young men and women.

More than 500 physical culture-sports clubs at the place of residence and approximately 400 clubs for amateur sportsmen and sports fans have been opened to this end in the cities and villages in the past 2 years. Go-kart and skateboard clubs have been organized for the first time, and football supporter associations, in which the supporters become involved in regular sports pursuits and community work, have been set up for the so-called fans under the auspices of the top football teams. With their active assistance the first republic five-a-side football tournament, in which 2,000 teams took part, has already been held.

Interesting experience of the organization of the youth's leisure activity has been accumulated in Taldy-Kurgan. For example, 38 basement premises have been refitted here as special-interest clubs, sports halls, disco bars and cafes. The gorispolkom has allocated more than R2.5 million for this purpose in the current 5-year plan. The majority of such clubs are run on a volunteer basis, but their activity is directed by methods specialists of the city's cultural-sports complex, Komsomol leaders and municipal organizers of work at the place of residence. Participants in the conference-seminar have visited these clubs and familiarized themselves with the new forms of their work.

Vigorous efforts are being made by the cultural establishments to increase their influence on the amateur formations of a musical focus. Financially autonomous youth associations, the oblast and republic "Rock in the Struggle for Peace" festivals and breakdance competitions and reviews are serving to consolidate contacts with the action committees.

The Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee has begun to operate somewhat more actively also. A scientific-practical conference was held in Ust-Kamenogorsk, and in Alma-Ata, a republic practical seminar with children's and adolescent club organizers. Studies with volunteer social workers dealing with adolescent boys have been organized on the basis of the facilities of the "Ikar" Delta Club and the "Okean" military-patriotic club.

These and other measures have helped noticeably increase ideological and organizational influence on the action committees and determine more clearly the tasks and range of their actions. Simultaneously the activity of the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol authorities in this field is becoming more coordinated. And, consequently, the support for positive undertakings in the social amateur activity movement has become more tangible and the struggle against negative tendencies within a number of associations has become more high-minded.

At the same time, however, there have also been serious omissions, from which the proper lessons must be learned. For example, members of the "All-Union Sociopolitical

Club," "Pamyat" and the "Federation of Socialist Social Clubs" have attempted repeatedly in a number of cities of the republic to involve individuals in active anti-Soviet activity. Their influence would have been incomparably less had explanatory work among their active members been appropriately organized locally.

This applies, even primarily, perhaps, to the republic's capital. Seven amateur associations and groups, which in their activity have already outgrown purely nature-conservation tasks, are dealing with environmental problems alone here. However, the local authorities are in no hurry to make contact with them. In addition, activists of the said groups, "Green Front," for example, are impeding even the realization of positive initiatives pertaining to an improvement in the ecological situation. Meanwhile attempts have come to be made in certain groups to direct their activity into the channel of active political opposition to the official authorities. On the pretext of a lack of understanding on the part of those around them and the suppression of self-expression the ideas of a withdrawal from the "ignoble" world into the sphere of religiosity and mysticism are being dredged up in a number of cases.

There arises the perfectly legitimate question: where are the ardent party words which, as is known, are capable of lifting people both to the fight and to labor. It would seem that some of those who are called upon to be their exponents have lost the gift of persuasion and have grown accustomed to the quiet of their personal offices. However offensive this is, such party and soviet officials frequently quit the field of ideological "battle" by no means heroically.

And if such things are possible in Alma-Ata, what can be said about the oblast centers or cities somewhat lower down the scale. And is this not a reason why the unlawful "activity" of many adolescent and youth associations is not subsiding. True, the measures which have been adopted have uncoupled a number of groups with a propensity for offenses and antisocial actions. Thus two groups of "metalworkers," which included youths who were systematically disturbing public order, have ceased their "work" in Kokchetav. Adolescent karate groups in Guryev and culture groups in Tselinograd had distinguished themselves in the same way.

"Practice shows that youth groupings of an antisocial thrust are the most 'explosive,'" S.D. Serikov, deputy minister of internal affairs of the Kazakh SSR, said. "They are currently the smallest, but most disquieting part of the amateur activity groups. After all, the members thereof are frequently drug addicts, glue sniffers and hooligan elements and also adolescents finding an alternative to social injustice in perverted ideological forms of activity, in nationalism and chauvinism, for example."

The danger of this phenomenon is now recognized by many people, but, nonetheless, it is an obvious fact that there is on the part of official organizations a manifest



lack of concerned attention to such youth organizations. Many of their leaders are unknown, and there is no effective preventive work within such groups. A closer acquaintance with their composition, however, shows that criminal proceedings were formerly instituted against some of their leaders or that they are on the books of the juvenile affairs inspectorates. This applies, for example, to the "spiritual mentors" of the "Square," "Northern Fortress" and "Shanghai" groups, who had been involved in hooliganism and extortion and who calmed down only following the intervention of the law enforcement authorities.

The voluntary societies and their republic councils and the public education authorities also merit serious reproach here. It is they primarily which need to expose such adolescent associations and help the young men and women properly find their place in life and find a really useful cause. Only in unison can we achieve improvements in the difficult work with the bad action committees.

Perestroyka has left behind in its complex and difficult development the "meeting democratism" stage. And it is necessary today to adopt immediate and exhaustive measures for overcoming the negative tendencies in the activity of the amateur activity formations.

And for this it is necessary to resolutely increase ideological pressure on them, repudiate the extremist elements and not fear frank discussion on the most acute and complex issues of our reality. We need to put the emphasis here on individual work (the most fruitful, as practice shows) and skillfully combine it with other forms. Directing social assertiveness into a positive channel is the duty of all who are in one way or another involved in problems of the amateur activity associations. It is necessary to make use of all opportunities for the enlistment of the action committees and their leaders in conscious, concerned participation in socialist renewal.

There is just one political criterion in the work with the amateur activity associations and various clubs and action committees. Any social activity which is performed within the framework of the USSR Constitution and is not contrary to the interests of the development of our society deserves to be recognized. In addition, it is necessary to support in every possible way all the formations whose activity is geared to people's welfare and our common cause—the advancement of perestroyka.

Amateur associations are a reality of our time. A complex, contradictory reality changing its forms with literally kaleidoscopic speed. All—party and soviet authorities, trade unions and the Komsomol and the law enforcement establishments—will have to learn in this situation. We need to know how to respond quickly and correctly to the dynamics of situations, events and phenomena and in no event brush them aside and remain aloof from all that is strange and unusual.

Something else is certain also: we must all learn to listen closely to the voice of the opponent and not treat it with obvious bias and prejudice. It was emphasized at a recent conference in Orel that socialist pluralism of opinions, constructive dialogue, creative discussion, a sober comparison of views—such is the sole correct path toward the quest for the best, optimum solutions of the programs outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

### **Past Uzbek Party Corruption Contrasted With Present**

*18300176a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
27 Oct 88 p 3*

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Kuchkarov: "There Are No Silence Zones"]

[Text] The party has adopted a confident course of radically restructuring its apparatus, and that means abandonment of the branch principle of committee structure, the reduction of committee staffs, broad glasnost and the strengthening of ties with the masses as dependable guarantees of a resolute ridding of itself of the administrative command style. In short, restructuring has determined radical changes within the party apparatus and brought genuinely Leninist evaluation criteria to the foreground in the selection of party workers.

In light of these newly restored truths, it will be worthwhile today to lift the curtain on the ways that not so long ago the personnel leapfrog was managed under the "sensitive leadership" of Rashidov and his myrmidons.

It was not a person's talent, business qualities, honest, decency and principled nature that were honored by the "boss" in choosing his personnel, but a person's obsequiousness, readiness to engage in any nasty deed in order to hold onto his personal chair, and, of course, his drabness and lack of talent. People without talent are easier to order about. Matters reached the point that certain positions on the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee remained vacant for years until relatives or especially devoted people turned up. And elections were not held for many years in the republic Academy of Sciences, until the "scientists" that the leadership needed "matured." Apparatus employees who had become inconvenient and dared to condemn the actions of "the man himself" and his entourage were dealt with using the dirtiest methods. Blackmail, slander and even physical destruction were brought into play.

Rashidov and other Central Committee executives planted suspiciousness in the apparatus, played people against one another, and had undesirables under surveillance, for which certain apparatchiks and employees of administrative agencies were used. For example, the executive of one department of the republic Communist Party Central Committee was sent to the Uzbekistan Sanatorium in Yalta in order to find out who R. Gulamov, a person of great personal courage who had fallen into disfavor

because of his open opposition to Rashidov's tyranny, was associating with there and what sort of discussions he was having about Rashidov and his entourage.

Another example. The chief of a Central Committee department was specially dispatched to Moscow in order to fail the doctoral dissertation of the wife of S. Aripov, then republic Minister of Health, who had dared to tell Rashidov what he thought about the unseemly deeds of Rashidov's relatives. For that he was dismissed from his job and subjected to persecution.

One republic minister was also removed from office solely because he attended a birthday celebration at the home of K. Murtazayev, a person of exceptional organizational abilities and remarkable qualities, who was in disfavor.

The list could be continued. Intrigue and denunciations were also propagated in the lower echelons of the party apparatus. Moreover, in most cases denunciations of honest people were fabricated directly in the Central Committee apparatus.

The mechanism of pressuring "unreliable" people in order to morally destroy them was thoroughly worked out: Friends would not sit next to such people at Central Committee plenums and Supreme Soviet sessions, and people would be afraid to exchange greetings with them, visit them in the hospital or, even worse, take part in their family celebrations. If such a thing did happen, information would immediately be passed to the first secretary. Negative public opinion would then be formed instantaneously with regard to the "unreliable" people's friends.

One can say without exaggeration that to all intents and purposes many executives, especially the most capable and prestigious ones, were constantly under the leadership's suspicion. "Divide and conquer" was Rashidov's favorite device. Suspicion was sowed among relatives, friends, fellow workers, ministers and Central Committee department chiefs and their deputies, scientists and cultural figures. And the omnipotence of anonymous letters! The goal was set of not leaving a single talented and capable person unsullied, so that no one could raise his voice against Rashidov and his cohorts.

The following fact also attests to the flagrant injustice of personnel policy during that period. A certain R. Nazarov, who was close to Rashidov, worked as secretary of the party organization and head of a laboratory at the Institute of Experimental Plant Biology. When he was elected secretary of the party organization, 14 percent of the Communists voted against him, and in his election for a second year, 44 percent voted against him. Nonetheless, he became secretary. In that same year, 1981, during his reelection as a laboratory head in the institute's learned council, all the members of the learned council unanimously rejected his candidacy both in their speeches and in the secret voting: they said he was rude, disrespectful and did not shun plagiarism. But at the end of the meeting R. Nazarov took the floor. For repentance

and an honest admission of his mistakes? Nothing of the sort. He showed the council members a photograph that had been taken of his father together with Rashidov, and he threatened that he would go to see his patron, who would abrogate the council's decision.

And it really happened that he went to see Rashidov with a defamatory letter, and Rashidov sent a letter to Central Committee Secretary A. Salimov, and the latter wrote to me (I was chief of the Central Committee department of science and educational institutions at the time): "I request that you reinstate." However, after carefully studying the matter on instructions from the Central Committee department, the presidium of the republic Academy of Sciences unanimously supported the decision of the institute's learned council concerning R. Nazarov's unsuitability for his position. But even after that the Central Committee secretary for ideology insisted that R. Nazarov be reinstated, contrary to the opinion existing in both the institute and the presidium of the Academy of Sciences. As the chief of a Central Committee department, I firmly supported that opinion. That was reported to Rashidov, and it was added that the situation surrounding R. Nazarov was supposedly being inflamed by Kuchkarov himself, who "is refusing to carry out the orders of the Central Committee first secretary."

After that I was rapidly relieved of my duties as Central Committee department chief, through the circulation of a questionnaire, supposedly "in connection with transfer to other work." But in Moscow it was reported regarding the reason for my removal: lately Kuchkarov has been abusing alcohol and...condemning the party's policies.

The selection and advancement of personnel on the basis of family, clan and regional affiliation and according to the principle of "you scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours" did tremendous damage to the cause of communist upbringing. The people and the working people got tired of this injustice and started to lose faith in the real possibility of changes. The people is expecting us to fully restore trampled justice. And the fuller use of glasnost should become an extremely important condition for the prevention of mistakes in personnel policy. Any candidate who is nominated for any position should, without exception, be discussed at a meeting of Communists and nonparty members. It would be correct for the nominee himself to set forth in writing, and orally at a meeting of the collective and at the time of his confirmation, what he has done for restructuring in his former position and what he intends to do in his new sector of work, and that document should be added to his personal file. A year later the question of whether he has fulfilled his commitments should be thoroughly looked into, after which his suitability for the position he holds should be decided.

As for the role of the party organization's apparatus in the reassignment of personnel in the party committees themselves, as paradoxical as it may seem, it simply does not exist as such. In that situation, it frequently happens that an untalented and unscrupulous person (but one who is "efficient and dependable," and obedient) turns out to be

higher than a talented and capable person, which is a clear demonstration of the lack of social justice. Yet it is precisely these party organizations that should set an example of genuine democracy, glasnost and justice. Democracy and glasnost should pertain to everyone without exception, and especially to the primary party organizations of the party committees' apparatuses.

It must honestly be admitted that the command bureaucratic system of management that became entrenched during the years of Stalinism and stagnation has become part of society's flesh and blood and has brought up the type of executive with autocratic psychology and thinking whose word and every action are supposed to be law for anyone beneath him and not subject to discussion. Such people operate on the principle: "I am the boss and you are a subordinate; I give the orders, and it is your job to carry them out." They like it very much when the person supposed to carry them out answers "it will be done" and "thanks for the confidence" and presents any document or any information on time—the content does not matter, what matters is that it is on time. Until recently these were the sort of "personnel" who were valued most highly on the nomenklatura merry-go-round.

In its first resolution, the 19th Party Conference drew an extremely important conclusion: "Revolutionary restructuring is impossible without the utmost activation of society's intellectual and spiritual potential and scientific and technological progress, the increasing of the scientific and technological contribution of scientists and engineering personnel, and the raising of the level of the whole educational system and of the people's general and political culture." This position pertains especially to the party apparatus and the whole managerial corps of all levels of our society. It is aimed at getting rid of the legacy of the period of stagnation whereby the holders of administrative positions were frequently incompetent people of little culture, and sometimes people mired in corruption, bribe-taking and all sorts of affairs remote from our morality and ethics. Therefore, one of the most complex tasks in the restructuring of the party apparatus and, hence, of the entire political system is to raise the intellectual level of party apparatus employees and to bring about their moral improvement.

Take, for example, the work style and methods of the party committees' most prestigious collegial bodies—the secretariats and buros. There is not a single matter of the least importance pertaining to the life of the party and society and its units, especially personnel questions, that is not considered in their meetings. It is no secret that to no small extent in the years of Stalinism and stagnation the stereotypical command bureaucratic style and methods of management were formed and became firmly established in the work of precisely these collegial bodies. Let us be thoroughly candid and recall that at secretariat and buro meetings the sort of situation frequently occurred (and continues to occur at the present time) in which a hortatory tone predominated, and the buro and secretariat members and apparatus officials would take the role of attackers and accusers, while the

people making reports would be in the role of defendants: often criticism or objections addressed to the secretariat, buro or officials of the party apparatus were taken as an attack on the authority of the party. Arrogance and not authority dominated there. All this is well known by officials of the party apparatus, executive personnel and the secretaries of party organizations who frequently attend meetings of the collegial bodies.

Therefore, the main thing is that genuinely comradely relations and a businesslike and creative spirit must be established in the work of the secretariats and buros, more listening must be done to the opinions of specialists and the people making reports, and more reliance must be placed on scientific data. People making reports should go to secretariat and buro meetings not as though they were going to the executioner's block but as though they were attending a council. In short, the sort of atmosphere must be created wherein there will be an objective discussion of issues, with the members of collegial bodies and the people invited to them on an equal footing, and any sort of fear of the threat of punishment or removal from office will be ruled out. That is also democracy and culture. Moreover, it is major, decisive democracy.

It is no secret for anyone that such a situation prevails in the party committee apparatus (the higher up, the deeper and stronger) when the orders of the secretary or deputy of the department are not subject to discussion and must be implemented unquestioningly, that is, the work mode is of an instructional nature. The deadlines for carrying out the orders are often unrealistic, which creates nervousness and an excess of stress in the apparatus.

Discipline grows stronger when instructions or orders are proper and realistic, but what if they are wrong and affect the interests of thousands, even millions, of people? In that situation some responsible officials will sometimes not want to mindlessly carry out orders and will dare to express their opinions, but such people can be elevated to the rank of blabbermouth or demagogue and rapidly "advanced" to other work. And for many years that sort of style was passed on, as though along a chain, to Soviet and economic-management agencies and to all levels of society.

At the present time, under the conditions of democracy and glasnost, the situation is unquestionably changing, but the goal is still a long way off. The reason lies in the fact that, instead of actual work with people, party apparatus officials are more concerned with paper work and the drafting of various plans and measures, many of which are not conveyed to the people supposed to carry them out and to primary party organizations. One of the favorite executive methods is telephone instructions and the demanding of immediate reports and information.

Isn't that the reason that many apparatchiks have only a vague notion of what is going on in the people's daily life?

Yes, the distance between party apparatus officials and the people is still being reduced too slowly. That is also why it is so important for the fresh breeze of restructuring to bring highly intellectual, morally irreproachable and creatively thinking people who are genuine fighters for the cause of revolutionary renewal into the party apparatus as quickly as possible. And a creative spirit, party comradeliness, the highest degree of training in the acceptance of criticism, the scientific organization of labor, and a constant concern for employees' spiritual growth should reign in the party apparatuses.

A whole generation of executives and scientific and cultural figures grew up during the time of Brezhnevism and Sharaf Rashidovism, under the conditions of deformed thinking. And it is impossible to say that with the change of leadership of the republic, oblasts, rayons, ministries and departments, they have all joined the ranks of the fighters for revolutionary restructuring. At the same time, one cannot agree with the view that a principled person absolutely must be removed from office or deemed ineligible for promotion merely on the grounds that his brother, father or relative has been convicted by a court or expelled from the party. Here is it necessary to be extremely cautious and humane in order not just to avoid injuring a person's dignity but, most importantly, to avoid losing a talent that belongs to society. Unfortunately, the people has already experienced this sort of thing in the years of Stalinism, and it cost society very dearly and continues to do so.

In this matter we need the widest possible glasnost as we need the air we breathe: the people will help sort out who is who and guard against mistakes and hasty conclusions and actions. That is the essence of the democratization of society. Therefore, if we want to achieve serious changes in our life, we must start not with cosmetic repairs but with capital repairs and the resolution of general questions.

Yes, precisely with capital repairs! That is the only way it is possible to strengthen socialism and restore people's faith in its values and ideals. That is the only way it is possible and necessary to strengthen the party's honor and prestige in the people's eyes.

#### **Uzbek 1st Deputy Internal Affairs Minister on Organized Crime**

18300176b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
10 Nov 88 p 4

[Interview with Maj Gen of the Militia E. A. Didorenko, Uzbek SSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, conducted by UZBEK TELEGRAPH AGENCY correspondent A. Baranov: "Fight for Life: Organized Crime is a Malignant Tumor on the Body of Society"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Public opinion in the republic has again been aroused. Inamzhon Usmanhodzhayev, the former first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, has been arrested in Moscow; Akil Salimov, the former chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR

Supreme Soviet, has been arrested in Tashkent; and the Buro of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee has removed Nazir Radzhabov and Ismail Dzhabbarov, first secretaries of the Samarkand and Bukhara party obkoms, from their offices. That was officially announced at a press conference held at the end of October in the republic capital.

More and more acts of "prowess" by the cotton mafia continue to be disclosed. And not only past acts. At the same press conference the figure of "20 million rubles" was quoted—that is the loss that has already been caused the state this year at cotton mills and on farms located within the former Dzhizak Oblast, where instances of report padding, the theft of raw cotton and seed, and the deliberate confusion of record keeping have again been disclosed. Five major "cotton cases" have once again been initiated on the basis of these disclosures.

So is evil boundless? UZBEK TELEGRAPH AGENCY correspondent A. Baranov met with Maj Gen of the Militia E. A. Didorenko, Uzbek SSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, and asked him to answer some questions.

[Baranov] What is the operational situation with regard to crime like right now in the republic? What is the most important thing today in the work of the internal affairs agencies?

[Didorenko] The situation is fairly complicated and tense, but in general, it is fully manageable. The situation in areas of the legal justice system in the republic is being monitored by the internal affairs agencies.

I say that because I am answering objectively to the question that was asked and not—as was customary just recently—in order to reassure the public. I consider that sort of thing unworthy and, moreover, extremely harmful. People were reassured to the point that they received, as a "reward," organized crime.

It is the fight against organized crime that has become the main area, the "number-one" task, in the work of the internal affairs agencies today. Its difficulty is exacerbated by the fact that in existing statutes and documents regulating our work such a concept has not even existed until recently. It was permissible to speak only about "organized crime elements."

But in practice what we are dealing with today is by no means "elements" but a full-scale negative phenomenon. The "cotton mafia," as you call it, is just part of that phenomenon. To make this vivid, let me say: in the period since 1985 the internal affairs agencies, cooperating with the KGB and the republic Procuracy, have disabled approximately 700 organized criminal groups, armed formations and gangs.

Why is 1985 taken as a point of departure? In the first place, because that is the year of the CPSU Central Committee's fateful April Plenum, a revolutionary turning in the life of all society toward restructuring and truth. In

the second place, it is only over the course of this time that I myself am able to directly evaluate the work that has been done in the republic and whatever actual results there are. There unquestionably have been results. But it is still more correct to say that we are only taking the first steps in the struggle against organized crime.

[Baranov] To be sure, all that is somehow not reassuring. But why did matters reach such acute limits? Maybe it does sound dilettantish: "the cotton mafia"—after all, we have not been overly enlightened about this matter, either. However, whether or not people spoke about it openly, crime did exist. And was it, as it seems, always organized?

[Didorenko] Not exactly. Let us take a short historical tour. The overthrown system left the young Soviet regime an extremely grave legacy of professional crime. The fighters for socialist legal justice and the workers' and peasants' militia established on the basis of Lenin's decree, whose birthday we are marking today, like the birthday of Great October, for the 71st time, did their jobs honorably and coped with the gloomy legacy of tsarism. In the 1920s organized gangs, which often had political overtones, were by and large liquidated, criminal clans were smashed, and the remains of professional crime were driven deep into the underground.

And after that the mistakes began. The first, and decisive, was rushing to declare professional crime completely eliminated, and a corresponding change in the strategy for fighting it. Yet it continued to be just the same as it had been—here I am forced to agree with you—awaiting "its" hour. That hour came during the years of stagnation, when criminogenic and criminal professionalism received favorable conditions for development into its highest form—organized crime.

It cannot be said that no one saw the danger of such a revival. Back in 1978 at an All-Union Conference of Specialists in Criminal Investigation, which I took part in, the question was openly raised: either we take the most urgent measures to stifle and neutralize the incipient neocriminality and nip its spread in the bud, or we would get the sort of enemy that is very difficult to overcome.

We got that enemy. Now we have to work out a strategy, tactics and methods of combating him while in the process of actually doing so, and in that process we have to gain experience that is often paid for, in the most literal sense, in blood.

[Baranov] What is this newly manifested evil like?

[Didorenko] According to the gradations we have worked out, organized crime consists of the totality of criminal organizations and organized criminal groups. They exist and operate separately, but it is entirely possible that they may interact and engage in certain joint illegal actions. A criminal organization or mafia implies an association of people of various social status who are joined together by the idea of the criminal enterprise and consistently carry it out according to a hierarchical system of unlawful activity. The organized

criminal group constitutes the structural unit of such an association, or functions independently, and is characterized by stability and a clear allocation of roles, and the planning of and preparation for crimes.

We do not insist on the absolute scientific precision of these definitions. But for the time being we have no others—unfortunately, practice here is once again ahead of theory. The definitions may be clarified and changed, but what remains constant is the essence, the fundamental distinguishing feature of organized crime—its reliance on corruption.

In order for you to get a more graphic idea of what this looks like in practice, I shall cite excerpts from the transcript of the interrogation of a typical representative of underground business:

"...So, let's be precise: the precinct officer gets 25 rubles a month? Is that correct?"

"Yes, 25 rubles a month. He comes for it on the first, just as for wages."

"So. Now how much a month goes to officers of the Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation?"

"500 to the chief of the rayon DCESPS."

"And how much to the operations administration officer?"

"The chief takes care of him."

"So 500 to the chief of the DCESPS. And how about the militia chief?"

"A piece."

"A thousand rubles?"

"Yes."

"Do you also pay the deputy?"

"No. They sort things out with the chief themselves."

"And the fireman?"

"The fireman also comes and takes some. He doesn't have a fixed rate: 30 to 50 rubles, whatever he's given."

"And the procurator?"

"The procurator hasn't taken money from us. He's tied in with the militia chief, and they work it out themselves."

"And the oblast Department for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation?"

"He takes some too."

"Does someone get it together for him?"

"He would come to see me himself and take it. Maybe for you he's a bad man. But for us he's good: he didn't do anything bad to us, was the only one to take money, and ordered not to give a kopeck to anyone." "And how much for him?"

"Also a piece."

"And the PCC."

"What's that?"

"People's Control Committee."

"Yes, absolutely. True, a bit less: 100-300 rubles."

"And your own bosses, too?"

"Yes, our own bosses, too?"

"Is it better not to give to the others but to give to your own?"

"No, we have to give to the others and to our own."

I realize what an impression that dialogue may make on the reader, and therefore let me say right away: it already belongs to the past. Everything there has now been straightened out: the people who should answer to the law are answering to it, and the people who should have been purged have been. And not just in the rayon in question. In three years 4,000 former staff members have been dismissed from internal affairs agencies for having discredited themselves and violating their oath, and around 500 of them have already been convicted.

Money and graft are the tried and true weapon of organized crime both in our country and abroad. The mafia makes wide and skillful use of the poisonous tentacles of corruption in its fight for survival and against society and the law. Unfortunately, the "shophand" whose distressing confessions have been quoted here is by no means the exception nowadays. According to the information we have, in Uzbekistan there are more than 1,500 such operators in various spheres of the "shadow" economy and about 160 underground millionaires. Their financial capabilities cannot fail to cause concern for the moral health not just of certain employees of the internal affairs agencies, but of much broader strata of the population.

The bigwigs of illegal business cannot avoid using the services of the most ordinary criminal element—murderers, robbers, and professional blackmailers—to realize their criminal goals. They have someone to rely on: As many as 280 such so-called "thieves in the law" and "authorities" in the criminal milieu have established themselves in the republic with by no means innocent intentions. For an appropriate compensation, the criminals are prepared to undertake any crime.

The organized gang of thieves that operated at the Andizhan Dairy can serve as an illustration of this. Their well-organized system of criminal enrichment had operated there since 1981. These latter-day nouveau riches

felt like they ran everything. The "thief in the law," a certain Givi Beradze, was ceremonially feted not just anywhere but at Moscow's Prague Restaurant. Among the guests who left their urgent affairs for the sake of the celebration were perfectly respectable people—employees of Central Television, well-known performers and the executives of major enterprises—as well as various wheeler-dealers and "shophands." Subsequently, fearing a possible leak of information that would be dangerous for them, the gang members made a decision to eliminate the husband of one of their female confederates. They found hired killers and, along with them, a traitor in the internal affairs system—the deputy chief of a militia department, who contracted, for a handsome sum, to take care of the criminal act. The circle closed—thieves—connections made through bribery—criminals.

Nonetheless, even now, when there are such facts available, which we have no intention of hiding from anyone, and when spontaneous shoot-outs occur periodically on city streets and roads at night, one finds people, including those in the echelons of authority, who continue to passionately assert that we have no organized crime because it cannot exist, and who try to seek out some sort of foreign "models." And in the meanwhile our own model of organized crime is maturing.

[Baranov] Who engages in that sort of attempt to reassure, and why? Don't the mafia "fathers" themselves strive to ensure our tranquility and serene ignorance?

[Didorenko] Unquestionably, the "godfathers" do not like to have increased attention being paid to them and modestly prefer to remain in the shadows. But the problem is that they do not even have to make any particular effort to achieve this: they find too many voluntary or involuntary well-wishing supporters, especially among bureaucrats of various ranks, officials from the administrative and bureaucratic apparatus which, unfortunately, even at the present stage of restructuring remains a highly obvious force of inertia in our society.

After all, admitting the existence of organized crime means, in the first place, accepting responsibility. Responsibility for the fact that it could arise and for all that was ignored and kept quiet—the growth of criminal professionalism, prostitution, the drug-abuse boom, the "shadow" economy, etc. In the second place, such an admission entails certain obligations that demand concrete actions. And for a bureaucrat both of these are more frightening than a bandit's sawed-off shotgun.

They are not accustomed either to answering for anything or to taking action. And they have no intentions of learning. It is simpler to deny everything and engage in empty verbal exercises, trying, for example, to clarify the difference between a "racket" and "croquet." Yet during this same time organized gangs of "racketeers" are operating, demanding a tribute from intensively developing cooperatives, and terrorizing people engaged in individual enterprise and trade and economic-management officials, sometimes directly pushing them onto a path of crime.

And yet those of us who are called on to resist this extremely dangerous criminogenic phenomenon and protect people against it are not even armed with a law that stipulates criminal liability for racketeering.

The law must not stand idle. New legislation must contain not cosmetic measures—as, alas, has repeatedly been the case—but effective legal support for this fight. Through the kindness of the bureaucratic estate and with its connivance, for many years now operational personnel and investigators have remained legislatively defenseless.

[Baranov] And nonetheless, they enter into this fight.

[Didorenko] Of course. After all, they are of chekist stock—no matter what happens, it is not just anyone but the Soviet regime that has assigned them to protect society and our people's life and dignity against any infringements and all pollution.

I have already said that it was necessary to work out method and forms of operational activity while on the job. Evidently, you have already heard and read about special units for fighting organized crime. Such a unit has been established directly under the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and it has branches in five of the republic's regions. They are staffed by the most professionally well-trained people, who are devoted to the cause.

They are few in numbers—just several dozen people. However, in the first eight months of this year alone they have neutralized more than 50 organized criminal formations responsible for 11 murders, as many as 90 armed robberies, and about 200 thefts of personal property from people's apartments. More than 4 million rubles' worth of stolen valuables has been confiscated.

During this same time, our entire remaining militia corps has exposed and eliminated twice as many similar groups. Yet the remaining personnel number tens of times as many as these units. So it is not hard to determine the effectiveness of their work.

They work without waiting for special commands and instructions. And they are oriented not only toward solving crimes that have already been committed but mainly toward exposing particularly dangerous "leaders" and "authorities" from the organized-crime milieu.

Of course, we are continuously looking for ways to improve this work and strike more effective preventive blows against organized crime, and we are studying both our own capabilities and the experience of our colleagues from other republics and regions, and of the foreign police, who have much longer-standing and broad experience in this regard.

For all that, we are convinced that we will not either overcome or neutralize organized crime through punitive measures alone. That is why I would like to take advantage of the opportunity to express sincere gratitude to the journalists, writers and representatives of various public groups in the republic who lately, through glasnost

and other forms of democratic activity, have been rendering increasingly significant support to the internal affairs agencies in solving the problems confronting them and in providing ideological support for their work. All together, we can do a great deal.

### Peoples' Rights to Improved Housing at Work Place

18300180 Alma-Ata IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK  
KAZAKHSKOY SSR: SERIYA  
OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK in Russian  
No 5, Oct 88 (signed to press 4 Oct 88) pp 75-84

[Report by A.U. Shakirova: "Register of Citizens Requiring Improved Housing Conditions at their Work Place"]

[Text] The highest purpose of the party's economic strategy was and still is the continual improvement of the material and cultural level of the people's life. Realization of this goal in the period from 1986 to the year 2000 envisages, specifically, solution of a most important social task—to provide practically every family a separate apartment or an individual house.<sup>1</sup> In the matter of providing housing to the citizens, the proportion of the departmental housing allocation is increasing more and more. Thus, in the Kazakh SSR as of 1 January 1987, the volume of all available housing had reached 201 million 178.2 thousand square meters (total area): of this, 131 million 83 thousand square meters belong to the state housing allocation; whereas the departmental housing allocation was 98,400,000 square meters, or 75 percent of the entire state housing allocation.<sup>2</sup>

Under the conditions of the new economic system, the transition of enterprises, institutions and organizations<sup>3</sup> to complete economic accountability and self-financing, which opens broad prospects in construction of housing primarily at the expense of an enterprise's own assets, promotes the expansion of the volume of the departmental housing allocation and assures the latter the leading role in satisfying the housing needs of the citizens.

The most noteworthy addition to the departmental housing allocation is connected with the construction of Young People's Housing Complexes [MZhK]. The movement under the symbol MZhK is becoming more and more popular. At the present time, in 165 cities and populated places in the country, nearly 600 MZhK have been organized, and have been declared Komsomol Shock Construction Projects by the Komsomol Central Committee.<sup>4</sup> The 12th Five Year Plan envisages assimilating more than one billion rubles for erection of MZhK's.<sup>5</sup>

In connection with the aforementioned data, the significance of the apartment register at the work place is increasing. One can judge the correlation of this kind of housing register with the register at the place of residence by the following selected data. As of 1 January 1987, in one of the rayons of the city of Alma Ata (Sovetskiy Rayon), the queue for housing was stated at the rayon ispolkom as 1,251; but at the enterprises it consisted of



5,000 people;<sup>6</sup> in Moscow, out of 830,000 people on the list, over 300,000 people are on the register for their place of work;<sup>7</sup> in the cities and workers' settlements of the RSFSR more than 8,000,000 families are on the list for improved housing conditions, including 6,000,000 at their enterprises.<sup>8</sup> In recent years legislation has taken an important step toward expanding the number of people who have the right to get on the list of those who require improved housing conditions at their work place, and, consequently, to be provided departmental housing space. First of all, these are citizens placed on the register at the *ispolkom*. Secondly, the Fundamentals of Housing Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics, and the Republic Housing Codes<sup>9</sup> have legitimized the existing practice of accepting on the register those citizens who require improved housing conditions at their place of work, but who have left the enterprise in connection with retirement (Part 2, Art. 19, Fundamentals); as well as workers at medical, cultural-educational institutions, public catering enterprises, and other enterprises, institutions and organizations, which directly support the collectives of the enterprises where they work (Part 2, Art. 32, KazSSR Housing Codex).

The Republic Rules for registering citizens who require improved living conditions and for offering housing accommodations<sup>10</sup> envisage the possibility of registration at the work place as an exception, with the permission of the executive committees of local Soviets of People's Deputies and the appropriate councils of trade unions, for those laborers and white-collar workers who require improved housing conditions, and who have for an extended period of time worked conscientiously at the enterprises, but who live in nearby populated places (Point 9, Rules).

The right to receive living space at department expense is also enjoyed—in accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers Decree No 956 of 10 October 1985, "On Measures for Providing Workers of Enterprises, Institutions, and Organizations Situated in the Regions of the Far North and in Localities Equivalent to the Regions of the Far North, with Living Space in Other Regions of the Land,"<sup>11</sup>—by citizens who have departed the given rayons and who have worked at the indicated enterprises no less than 20 years, until retirement. The category of citizens stipulated shall be accepted on the apartment register at their place of work, regardless of how long they have lived in the given populated place.

In accordance with USSR Council of Ministers Decree No 677 of 15 July 1981, "On Guarantees and Compensation Upon Transfer to Another Locality,"<sup>12</sup> workers who have arrived in connection with their transfer to work in another locality, and the members of their family, shall receive housing at departmental expense under conditions of a labor contract. Thus, they too can be placed on the apartment register, regardless of how long they have lived in the given locality.

The reason which, from our point of view, brings about a new qualitative analysis of the role and position of the

industrial principle in providing housing to the citizens, revolves around the indisputable advantages of registry at one's place of work before registry at one's place of residence. They consist of the following:

1. Granting an apartment at one's place of work is accomplished under the mandatory control of the working collective, which can provide a complete and objective analysis of the labor contribution of every worker.
2. The possibility of receiving an apartment at one's work place is a great social good, which has a direct influence on the result and the quality of work of both laborers and white collar workers; and it reduces cadre turnover. Thus, selective research on worker cadre turnover at organizations of the construction complex conducted by USSR Goskomstat [USSR State Committee for Statistics], showed that out of 29 percent of those who left their jobs in the first half of the present year alone, 63 percent cited their dissatisfaction with housing and cultural-domestic conditions. In certain other organizations, the proportion of people departing because of poor housing conditions is higher still: at *Minsevozstroy* [Ministry of the Northwest Construction Industry], it was 67 percent; at *Minuralsibstroy* [Ministry of the Ural-Siberian Construction Industry], 74 percent; and at *Minvostokstroy* [Ministry of the Eastern Construction Industry], 85 percent.<sup>13</sup>

The most volatile segment of labor resources consists of the young people. Among them cadre turnover is higher by a factor of 1.5-2.0; attachment to enterprises is low; the number of violations of labor discipline is high; and satisfaction with the substance of their work is lower. The reasons for this also revolve around the housing shortage: 70 percent of the young people quit in connection with lack of available housing.<sup>14</sup>

For citizens who require improved living conditions, registry at their work place is expected to help eliminate the indicated shortfalls. In this plan, for example, the virtues of the *MZhK* (increasing the skill level of the laborers and white collar workers—candidate members in the *MZhK*, and increasing their creative activity and labor productivity as the components for success in the competitive process for the right to membership in an *MZhK*) are obvious, which gives this bold experiment the right to life and the trust of the young people.

3. Being on the register for those requiring improved living conditions at the work place is preferable in terms of the waiting period for receiving an apartment as well. Practical experience confirms this.

4. Certain housing privileges, offered to a certain category of workers and employees, placed on the register at their work place—for example, priority provision of housing to outstanding workers and to production innovators in accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukaz of 21 April 1986, "On Expanding the Rights of the Working Collectives of Enterprises and Organizations in Resolving Questions of Improving Living Conditions of



Workers and Employees,"<sup>15</sup> and the possibility of receiving priority grant of housing to highly-qualified specialists and other workers, upon recommendation of the Soviet of the working collective, in accordance with Point 4, Article 13 of the Law on State Enterprises (Associations)<sup>16</sup>—is not extended to such workers and employees, who are equal in terms of the legal status, but are on the register at their place of residence.

5. Registration at the work place provides, in our opinion, more reliable guarantees of observing the principles of social justice, inasmuch as it provides a relatively broad opportunity for placing dishonest, non-conscientious, and undisciplined workers lower on the housing priority list.

All the foregoing permits one to come to the conclusion that, in the period of fundamental restructuring of the country's economic mechanism, to include the housing policy, a turn has been noted toward increasing the role of an enterprise or organization's housing allocation in providing the citizens housing at their work place. At the same time, in our view, the quality of the very institution of providing living quarters to the citizens in connection with their labor relationships is undergoing a change, in which decisive criterion for allocating departmental housing is not so much the fact of labor relationships and the length of one's labor activity, as the quality of one's work.

Cases of allocating departmental housing to outstanding producers and innovators, highly-qualified specialists, and members of an MZhK, which is regulated by law, serve as the basis for this conclusion.

In this connection it is difficult to agree with the opinion expressed in literature on the subject, that although the right to receive housing accommodations is still connected with labor relationships, their interaction is such that the labor relationships are merely the legal basis for the advantages and privileges in providing the citizens living space.<sup>17</sup>

The opinion on the subsidiary nature of labor relationships in providing living space to the workers and employees significantly weakens one of the basic principles of socialism, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor," and the principle of social justice in allocating housing.

The institution of providing apartments in connection with labor relationships is preserved and expanded in the new housing legislation (Part 2, article 24 of the Fundamentals; and Part 2, Article 41, KazSSR Housing Code). Even with the proposed reduction of the departmental housing allocation as the result of its transfer to the jurisdiction of the local Soviets, which is stipulated in Part 2, Article 4 of the Fundamentals (Article 5, KazSSR Housing Code), enterprises retain the right to place their own workers in empty apartments in houses which previously belonged to them. Consequently, it is still necessary to register citizens requiring improved housing conditions, at their work place.

The great significance of housing which belongs to enterprises (or organizations) makes it necessary to study the complex of legal questions connected with registering citizens at their work place. The aforementioned registration has certain peculiarities, predetermined in essence by the very category of citizens who have the right to receive living space from the departmental allocation. Certain normative instructions pertaining to the apartment registry of citizens at their work place require elaboration.

It was already noted that workers and employees who have for a long time worked conscientiously at enterprises, and who live in near-by populated places, may be placed on the register of those requiring improved housing conditions, at their work place (Point 9, Regulations of the KazSSR). A Regulation with the same title of 23 April 1985, No 8/160, which is in effect in the city of Alma Ata, while giving concrete expression to the given point in the Republic Regulation, establishes a term of no less than ten years of uninterrupted work at the city's enterprises, for the workers and employees in this category. Meanwhile, practical experience indicates that this period is unacceptable for many of the enterprises in the capital: it does not consider the growth of the enterprises or their production needs in labor resources, and the role and position of the city, the republic and the country in carrying out national economic tasks. For example, at the Alma Ata Production Association of the Meat Industry (APOMP), there are 62 families on the housing register who live in the suburbs (the settlement of Kurlysshi), who have been working at the combine for two years; whereas 49 people with rural residence permits have been working at the Sredazenergostroy [Central Asia Power Engineering Construction] Trust for less than ten years. The appropriate authorities (the industrial branch trade union committee and the rayispolkom) refuse to approve the lists of those on the list of the given enterprises, until they are brought into line with the established requirements. As a result of this the lists are "conserved," and the enterprises cannot bring to its logical conclusion the distribution and official allocation of their available apartments to the registrants. But removing the aforementioned families from the apartment registry, for example at APOMP, will lead to inevitable loss of the already-short workforce, especially at shops with dangerous production conditions (slaughter houses and so on), reduction of labor productivity, and retardation of the pace of economic development. But what is the solution? In our opinion, the ispolkom should, in consideration of the specific nature of the enterprises, establish differentiated terms of work at the city's enterprises for the indicated category of citizens. It would be more expedient to transfer the solution of this problem to the enterprises themselves, which is entirely in accord with the spirit of the times.

The USSR Council of Ministers Decree of 10 October 1985 envisages providing houses to citizens who have arrived from other regions of the country, and who have worked no less than 20 years prior to retiring on pension at

enterprises situated in the regions of the Far North and at localities equivalent to them. Such a term is not required for workers who have become invalids or suffered work-related illnesses during their period of work at these enterprises (Point 2). The peculiarity lies in the fact that registration is carried out at the enterprises where the citizens used to work, but they are provided living space in cities and populated places to which they have come for permanent residence. Point 2 of the aforementioned Decree states: "Authority is granted to send to the ministries and departments the funds allocated to them for housing construction in all populated places on the territory of the USSR, except for the capitals, the cities of Moscow and Leningrad, Moscow Oblasts and resorts of nationwide and republic significance."

Does this mean that the aforementioned citizens may choose whichever populated place in the Soviet Union they desire, or does the priority of choice belong to the specific ministry or department which holds the funds? We suggest that the second is closer to reality and the content of the normative act.

From the text of the Decree it is not clear by which procedure the category of citizen in question is provided housing, and which ispolkom by territory exercises control over granting them housing accommodations. In such cases, apparently, they are granted living space out-of-turn, since these persons are not registered in the given populated place which they have selected for permanent residence.

It appears that the aforementioned act requires significant modification, and more complete and accurate editing.

In recent years a number of normative acts have been adopted, directed at increasing the role of the labor collectives in resolving questions of improving the living conditions of workers and employees in accordance with their labor contribution. Among these is Article 12 of the Fundamentals, which was adopted for elaborating on and supplementing the USSR Law on Labor Collectives and increasing their role in the administration of enterprises, institutions, and organizations; and the previously-mentioned Ukaz of 21 April 1986. The latter names three categories of citizens: workers and employees who have the right to receive housing at first-priority (Article 20, Fundamentals); innovators, and outstanding production workers, for whom, upon the decision of the labor collectives of enterprises with collective contracts, special privilege may be stipulated as the basis for recognizing them as needing improved living conditions with provision of living space at their work place; and also the amount of living space allocated for these purposes. Also stipulated is the possibility of providing first-priority to the given citizens for living space at their work place.

We studied the question of the practical application of the given Ukaz at a number of major enterprises in the city of Alma Ata. Although the results of selective research reflect the concrete situation and in terms of their scale are not

subject to extensive generalization, nevertheless they provide an impression of the true state-legal situation at the level of small social groups and state enterprises, for example, and testify to the degree of socio-political maturity of the leading officials, and on the effectiveness of the trade-union organizations.

It is perplexing, that the collective contracts of certain capital enterprises (the S.M. Kirov Plant, the confectionery factory, and others) say nothing about granting first-priority housing to workers and employees, and to outstanding producers, who have such a right according to law; and they have not given concrete expression to put their requirement for living space on a privileged basis. At the moment the given question was under study, at three out of nine enterprises, the workers and employees in question had not been singled out from the general waiting list and put on the privileged list (the confectionery factory, APOMP, and the heavy machine-building plant); the privileged basis acknowledging that the aforementioned citizens required improved living conditions had not been established in a single collective contract; nor was the size of the living space singled out for this purpose from the amount of living space introduced each year, or from every housing project that had just been put into operation; and three enterprises (APTO imeni F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, the confectionery factory, and ADK) had not stipulated the percentage of living space allocated to the privileged list.

The conclusion based on the selective research is that the level of practical application of the Ukaz of 21 April 1986 is—zero. However, we propose that this result is nevertheless not an indicator of the ineffectiveness of the adopted norm. In our view it speaks of something else. The huge tasks outlined by the party for solving the housing problem demand the perestroika of both "a turning point in minds and turn of thought" of the leading officials of the local government authorities, and at enterprises, institutions, and social organizations; their strict observance of the housing laws; as well as increased attention on their part to the human factor, and the social requirements and needs of the working people. Meanwhile, certain leading officials at enterprises and trade-union committees continue to orient on obsolete methods of management, following the evolved negative stereotype, wherein top-priority attention is devoted to production, but the social infrastructure is pushed to the background. It is precisely this, in our opinion, that explains the expense-oriented attitude of the economic administrators, who do not wish to be bound by the obligations of the collective contract on first-priority provision of housing to the citizens stipulated in the Ukaz of 21 April 1986. After all, decisions adopted by a general assembly of the labor collective in the collective contract are binding on the administration, as stipulated in Point 4 of the Statute on the Procedure for Concluding Collective Contracts.

Further. In practice one encounters situations in which the local authorities groundlessly prevent the labor collectives from realizing their obligations according to the

collective contract, connected with granting specified individuals advantages in receipt of housing space, in accordance with the Ukaz.<sup>18</sup> And this shortcoming in practice must be eliminated.

Certain republic-level Regulations go farther than the Ukaz of 21 April 1986. For example, UkSSR Regulations (Point 39) stipulate that living space constructed at the expense of capital investments and specially-allocated in connection with putting new industrial capacities and projects into operation, may, with the permission of the executive committees of the oblast, the Kiev and Sevastopol City Soviets and the trade-union council, be granted out-of-turn to skilled workers, engineering-technical workers, and other specialists of a given enterprise, as well as to workers not only invited from other populated places but also transferred from another subdivision of that same enterprise.

The Law on the Enterprise establishes a norm which is quite similar in content. Its Article 13 (Point 4) stipulates the right of an enterprise to allocate housing out-of-turn to certain highly-skilled specialists and other workers, in consideration of their labor contribution. This edition of the law gives rise to questions: to whom does the category highly-skilled specialists and other workers apply; is their length of service taken into consideration; etc.

Apparently, highly-skilled specialists are also outstanding producers and innovators who have mastered modern scientific knowledge and methods of managing production, who carry out their work responsibilities at a high professional level, but who do not have the necessary long term of service. "Other workers" can be understood as veterans, workers and employees who have top priority according to the law. With this version of the interpretation of Statute 13 of the Law it turns out that the latter permits the enterprise to offer the indicated citizens departmental housing out-of-turn; and in accordance with the Ukaz of 21 April 1986 as well as the new edition of Part 3, Article 12 of the Fundamentals, an enterprise has the right to offer these same citizens housing only on a first-priority basis. In case these categories of workers and employees mentioned in the given normative acts coincide (which is most likely), the contradiction noted must be eliminated by means of applying the text of Article 13 of the Law on Enterprises, in accordance with Part 3, Article 12 of the Fundamentals.

It should also be noted that workers invited to work in accordance with a transfer from another populated place, and the members of their family, shall be provided housing in accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers Decree of 15 July 1981, under conditions stipulated in the labor contract. And this is stated in both the republic and local Regulations. The question of granting living space to invited specialists pertains to the direct prerogative of the administration of the enterprise which negotiated this question, with the consent of the trade union committee, upon concluding the labor contract.

Meanwhile, Point 33 of the Alma Ata Regulations stipulates that the conditions of the labor contract, in the part on granting housing accommodations to outstanding workers, shall be coordinated by the enterprises with the ispolkom of the city Soviet of People's Deputies and the branch trade-union authorities at the next higher level. Such requirements, in our view, contradict Article 41 of the KazSSR Housing Code and Point 23 of the Statute on the Rights of a Trade-Union Committee of an Enterprise, Institution or Organization,<sup>19</sup> and improperly narrows the rights of enterprises and their trade-union committees. As a result, in practice one is quite often forced to contend with the fact that the citizens' rights are violated by those very organs which are invested with the authority to, and are obligated to, defend the citizens' rights.

Registry at their work place of citizens requiring improved living conditions also has, in our view, a peculiarity in the question of applying housing privileges. We are talking about the right to first-priority receipt of housing by workers and employees in a situation in which they do not enjoy such a right personally, but members of their family do. We believe that in accordance with the law (Article 20 of the Fundamentals, and Article 37 of the KazSSR Housing Code), housing privileges must be considered only when the worker himself possesses them. In special cases, however, deviation from this general rule is sometimes necessary and expedient (For example, if a member of a family, who possesses housing privileges, does not have the possibility of realizing them himself, personally; that is, to independently get onto the register, in connection with illness, incapacity and so on). Practical experience shows an abundance of examples on this count. For example, the family of B.S.V. which consists of 7 persons (wife, son, daughter, son-in-law, grandson and grandmother), had been living in a two-room apartment with 30 square-meters living space. The grandmother, who is in her declining years, has been certified by a VKK [Physicians Control Commission] to suffer from an illness which makes her eligible for priority receipt of living space.<sup>20</sup> In connection with this the decision of the trade-union committee and the rectorate of the institute where B.S.V. had worked and where he was on the housing register, was to transfer him from the general list to the privileged list as number 2. That decision was disputed by the Alma Ata Oblast Committee of the Trade Union for Workers in Education, Higher Education and Scientific Institutions; as a result of which the apartment granted to the B.S.V. family via the privileged list was given to another person on the waiting list. The dispute was decided upon the intervention of the corresponding branch trade-union central committee, which upheld the right of the given worker and his family to receive an apartment on a privileged basis.

When a worker is placed on the apartment register at his place of work, the question of allocating housing privileges to him and his family, which according to the law is provided to one of its members, must most likely be

decided on a case-by-case basis, in consideration of the concrete circumstances. We shall cite an example. At Glavrissovkhozstroy [Main Administration for the Rice Sovkhoz Construction Industry] (in Alma Ata), one of the department chiefs of the main administration was added to the privileged list of those requiring improved housing conditions, because his wife works as a teacher in the secondary school. As is well-known, the resolution of the party and government of general-educational school reform placed on the ispolkoms of local Soviets of People's Deputies the obligation to provide first-priority housing to pedagogical workers at general-educational schools and vocational-technical schools. And it would not be proper to shift this, the obligation of the ispolkoms, to the enterprises where the family members of a given pedagogical worker work.

In the area of regulating registration, an important question for persons requiring improved living conditions is that of preserving a citizen's rights, when his status changes, to get on the register for receipt of departmental housing space, which is directly dependent on the workers and employees maintaining their labor relationship with the enterprise. Thus, a worker can be removed from the register in case of cancellation of his labor contract with the enterprise at which he has been placed on the register, if this is not connected with retirement on pension (Point 4, Part 2, Article 32, RSFSR Housing Code), or upon transfer to other work at an elective position (Point 4, Part 1, Article 34, KazSSR Housing Code).

In case of the death or departure for another place of permanent residence of a citizen who is on the register, a member of his family may be placed on the register in accordance with Part 2, Article 34 of the KazSSR Housing Code, under the following two conditions: 1) If the basis for certifying that they require improved housing conditions has not disappeared; or 2) If a member of the family works at the given enterprise. In the case of the death of a citizen who had been on the register, as a result of an industrial accident or a job-related illness, a member of the family shall be accepted on the register regardless of where he works.

In keeping with the specific intention of the departmental housing allocation, the granting of departmental housing to members of the family of a deceased worker or one who had departed for another permanent place of residence—providing they still need housing, but lack labor relationships with the given enterprise—would obviously be incorrect (except in case of the death of a citizen who had been placed on the register as the result of an industrial accident or a job-related illness). However, totally depriving such family members of the right to remain on the apartment register at the work place of, let's say, a deceased worker, would signify an encroachment on their housing interests. It would be more expedient, in our opinion, to put into law the right of the aforementioned family members to be accepted on the register in the place of the deceased or departed worker,

under conditions of their concluding in a short period (for example, 3 months) a labor contract with the given enterprise (or organization).

We believe that the family members of the deceased worker, who did not succeed for any reason at all getting on the register at their work place, should enjoy the very same rights. Moreover, in the given situations, the family members who require improved living conditions may, in accordance with the law, be provided housing on a first-priority basis (Article 20, Fundamentals; Article 37, KazSSR Housing Code).

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#### Footnotes

1. "Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS" [Materials on the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1986, p. 153.
2. "Materialy Goskomstata KazSSR" [Materials on the KazSSR State Statistical Committee].
3. Subsequent references to enterprises pertain to institutions and organizations as well.
4. "MZhK: rzhskiy variant" [M.Zh.K., the Riga Variant], ZHILISHCHNOYE I KOMMUNALNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, 1987, No 8, P 12.
5. IZVESTIYA, 22 February 1987.
6. KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 5 April 1987.
7. IZVESTIYA, 22 February 1987.
8. ZHILISHCHNOYE I KOMMUNALNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, 1987, No 8, p 2.
9. Subsequently, "Fundamentals" and "Housing Code".
10. In the Kazakh SSR, the Regulations for Registering Citizens who Require Improved Housing Conditions, and for Granting Housing Accommodations were approved under the Decree of the KazSSR Council of Ministers and the Kazakh SSR Trade Union Council of 14 February 1984; (COLLECTION OF DECREES, KazSSR, 1984, No 19, P. 66). Subsequently referred to as "the Regulations."
11. COLLECTION OF DECREES, USSR, 1985, No 33, p 154. Subsequently— Decree of the USSR Council of Ministers of 10 October 1985.
12. COLLECTION OF DECREES, USSR, 1981, No 21, p 123. Subsequently— Decree of the USSR Council of Ministers of 15 July 1981.
13. IZVESTIYA, 28 November 1987.
14. "Molodezhnyy zhiloy kompleks: opyt, problemy, perspektivy" [The Young Peoples' Housing Complex: Experience, Problems and Prospects], Moscow, 1987, p 7.

15. NEWS OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET, 1987, No 17, p 278. Subsequently, "the Ukaz of 21 April 1986."

16. NEWS OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET, 1987, No 26, p 385. Subsequently, "The Law on the Enterprise."

17. V.N. Litovkin, "Osnovy zhlischchnogo zakonodatelstva i zadachi kodifikatsii respublikanskogo zakonodatelstva" [The Fundamentals of Housing Legislation and the Tasks of Codifying Republic Legislation]; "Problemy sovershenstvovaniya sovetskogo zakonodatelstva" [Problems of Improving Soviet Legislation], Works of VNIISZ [All-Union Scientific Research Institute on Soviet Legislation], Moscow, 1982, Edition 24, p. 24.

18. TRUD, 30 August 1986.

19. Approved by the Ukaz of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 27 September 1971. Changes were entered by Ukaz's of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 5 May 1982, 26 January 1983, and 26 March 1984. NEWS OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET, 1982, No 19, p 318; 1983, No 5, p 74; 1984, No 13, p 188. Point 23 of the Statute submitted to editors on 26 January 1983.

20. List of illnesses which give the right to first-priority receipt of living space to persons suffering from these illnesses. Amendment No 1 to the Order of the USSR Ministry of Health of 28 March 1983, No 330. BULLETIN OF NORMATIVE ACTS OF THE USSR MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS, 1983, No 7, pp 47-48.

**SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Roundtable on  
Multi-National Family**

*18300181 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in  
Russian 8 Dec 88 p 4*

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA roundtable—a dialogue of nations in the context of perestroyka, with materials prepared by V. Pankov: "We Are Building a Family of Peoples"]

[Text] The events of recent days have once again focused our gaze on basic, sacred concepts—the Soviet Homeland and the family of peoples. The tumultuous meetings of the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet as well as the strict lines of recent government resolutions—all are permeated with this same concern—to preserve and strengthen the fraternity of large and small peoples which has been achieved through much suffering.

The dynamism of the changes taking place in society has forced us to take a different view of the traditional inter-ethnic ties and the stereotypes which have been formed here for decades. It has become apparent that there are many acute questions which life itself and the course of historical interaction of nations and peoples have placed on the agenda, and which have not found timely and principled resolution.

The party has already begun to successively clear away the landmines which have formed here. Preparations are being made for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum which, as noted in a recent Central Committee resolution, must become the primary concern of all the party committees and organizations, and all communists. In general, an extensive party discussion is taking place on how to make life in our multi-national house sanguineous, how to create in our society a spiritual atmosphere capable of strengthening fraternity and mutual respect of peoples.

We too decided to hold such a discussion in our editorial office. We brought together at one table people who in one degree or another are directly related to building the Russian multi-national family. They were: A. K. Aliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, Dagestan Branch and candidate in philosophical sciences; S. M. Biche-Ool, instructor at a branch of Krasnoyarsk Polytechnical Institute and candidate in historical sciences; writer V. M. Vanyushev (city of Izhevsk); A. I. Dmitriyev, official secretary of the journal YALAV (Chuvash ASSR); F. I. Yermakov, department head at Saratov VPSH [Higher Trade Union School] and doctor of historical sciences; M. Z. ZAKIYEV, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language, Literature and History imeni G. Ibragimov, doctor of philological sciences (city of Kazan); Ye. I. Klementyev, section chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Karelian Branch Institute of Language, Literature and History, candidate in historical sciences; V. D. Mikhaylov, docent at Yakutsk University and candidate in philosophical sciences; I. Ye. Namsinov, department head at the Kalmyk Scientific-Research Institute of History, Philology and Economics, and candidate in historical

sciences; M. A. Usmanov, prorector of Kazan University and doctor of historical sciences; A. I. Khamidov, department head at the Ufa Petroleum Institute and candidate in historical sciences; S. D. KHATSIYEV, docent at Chechen-Ingush Pedagogical Institute; writer G. G. SHAFIKOV (city of Ufa), and S. I. Yefendiyev, department head at Kabardino-Balkarsk University and doctor of philosophical sciences.

**To Draw Lessons**

[V.D. Mikhaylov] I dare to affirm that up until now, emotions and superficiality have prevailed in the evaluation of the emerging inter-national problems. Here is a characteristic example. Quite recently in the press and in various public speeches there has been talk of manifestations of nationalism in Yakutia. There were rumors circulating that our university did not accept representatives of non-native nationalities. Yet, I might add, they comprised 23 percent of the enrollment at that time. Then they began inflating the percentages, and increased them to 37. People were literally being dragged into the lecture halls. But they did not want to go, because they believed that a peripheral VUZ does not give the proper kind of training. In reality, our university does have numerous shortcomings—especially in its material base. And so the children of parents who have come from the central oblasts would go away to enroll in VUZes in their native land. It was necessary to understand this complex situation, to seek real solutions, and not simply to reduce everything to oversimplified evaluations.

We might ask: What was going on then in Yakutia? You may consider that it was the same type of youth unrest which was taking place also in Alapayevsk, in Morshansk, and in other places. So let us speak not about the manifestations of nationalism in Yakutia, but about the national Yakut problems: about the social inequities—they are clearly evident, and about the fate of the small native peoples of Yakutia. All this has become sharply exacerbated today.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Here the regular question occurred to us: Why, then, didn't anyone from the university make any serious efforts to soberly, convincingly, and without any insults or ambitions, explain through this very same press what the real state of affairs actually was? After all, it is not in vain that we say we must be more energetic in raising acute questions, in not letting the initiative slip away from us in formulating and solving the problems which have come to a head.

Evidently, we have not yet become accustomed to such timely and frank discussions. Nevertheless, as the speakers noted, there are many other outdated approaches to the solution of the emerging inter-ethnic problems which need to be reviewed.

[M.Z. Zakiyev] We must rid ourselves of stereotypes as soon as possible. At one time, the theory of the future merging of nations and peoples into a single nation with unified general culture and single common language became widespread. This theory, under the guise of

internationalization, led to the loss of national peculiarities in the autonomous republics. Yet Vladimir Ilyich Lenin stressed that the unity and fraternity of the workers of all countries cannot be reconciled either with direct or indirect oppression over other peoples. The socialist ideal is not ossifying unification, but full-blooded, dynamic unity of national multiplicity.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] We must draw lessons from the past. Yet it is no less important to correct the deformations which have emerged. Recent events show that as yet the distance from the inception of a "hot spot" to a true, well-thought out approach to its "cooling" is in some cases very great.

One of the speakers recalled the wonderful wisdom of the mountain people: "You must put on your cloak before the first raindrops fall." You must agree that the metaphor is a current one...

[A.K. Aliyev] It is a poor tradition. We begin to energetically undertake something after "the bell has already tolled", as they say. We must evaluate complex questions in a timely and realistic manner, without leaving them to the whims of fate, as was the case in Nagornyy Karabakh, Abkhaziya, and some other places. It is specifically because of not knowing or because of the lack of desire to know that many difficult situations arose...

[A.I. Khamidov] There is only one way here—ultimate glasnost [openness] in inter-national relations. The people must know what, where, and for what reason events are happening. Rumors in this delicate sphere are simply ruinous. They merely serve to pour oil on the fire. I agree with the representative from Yakutia. We need truthful, comprehensive information. Here we cannot rush to conclusions and generalizations. It is easy to see the points of complication of inter-national relations. All of them have their own individual coloration. In order to evaluate them we must take traditions and local conditions into consideration.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] The meeting participants unanimously agreed that glasnost, confidentiality and weighing the pros and cons of information is one of the cornerstones in the foundation of our all-Russian family. However, as one of the guests rightly noted, this family will only then be strong and full-fledged when the quality of the socio-economic everyday life in the autonomous republics and oblasts improves. This sphere also is not without its problems.

[Ye.I. Klementyev] We spoke of the connection between socio-economic and inter-national relations, and of the acute nature of this topic. It seems to me that the means of mass information, and specifically SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, are devoting too little attention to the plight of the villages, while the fates of all the peoples, and especially those within the Russian Federation, are tied with the fate of the agrarian sector. If we say that a complex situation has arisen in our agricultural production, this means we must admit that a complex situation has also arisen in the development of the national

cultures. And, if we think seriously about the problems of national development, we must resolve the question of the socio-economic rebirth of the village. In connection with this, I will use Karelia as an example.

The general scheme of abolishing rural settlements throughout the entire non-Chernozem region has led to the situation where the rural population system has been fully destroyed. In the 40 years since the war, even such a small republic as Karelia has lost around 2,200 villages. There are only 700 villages left in the republic, and half of them have a population of about 50 residents. The problem of the village is also the problem of the Food Program, as well as the problem of cultural development. Therefore, until a final blow is dealt to the so-called liquidation policy directed at eliminating non-prosperous villages—and although it has been condemned, nevertheless its loud echo still reverberates—it will be difficult for us to develop national culture. After all, the village is the root of our history, regardless of what people we are speaking of... We must, we simply have to elevate the village with the entire multi-national world.

[V.D. Mikhaylov] Our republic may also be classed fully in the regions of unsolved social and economic problems. They are evident, as they say, to the naked eye. The rural population predominates. It accounts for 80 percent of the entire population, yet the living conditions still leave much to be desired. The infrastructure of the national economy is undeveloped. I cannot say that efforts have not been made to correct the disproportions. Much is being done, but the following negative tendency may be noted. In the 40's-50's volunteers came to Yakutia to raise the level of the economy and the culture. They set themselves up substantially—to live and work. People with high moral orientation and high culture came. And, we must say, they came into contact very quickly with the local population. Today, however, the situation has changed. Now they come more and more for the fast ruble. This is no longer a secret to anyone, just as it has long been no secret that Yakutia has gradually turned into a raw material province.

Obviously, we need effective economic and social aid...

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] It would be difficult not to agree with the speaker. The development of nations and peoples is determined primarily by the socio-economic environment, the level of its present and, of course, its prospects. Yet these are ever more greatly tied with regional cost accounting, specifically with that model which presupposes harmonic unity of interests of the autonomous republic and the entire national economic complex. Not economic self-isolation, but rather effective integration. We might add that it is specifically about such cost accounting that Tatar Council of Ministers Chairman M. Sh. Shaymiyev recently told SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA readers. Tatariya is the first of the autonomous republics in the Russian Federation to change over to territorial cost accounting on the order of an experiment.

As M. S. Gorbachev stressed in his closing speech at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, all of us are interested in a strong center and a successfully developing periphery.

The "roundtable" participants expressed their hopes that this experiment would not be limited only to Tataria. Regional cost accounting—with its national specifics, of course—must become the property of other autonomous republics and oblasts as well...

Since it was primarily representatives of the intelligentsia who took part in the meeting—scientists and writers, the discussion inevitably and acutely touched upon one other sphere of inter-national relations—the polyphony of cultures represented in the Russian Federation. Among the speakers there were many who believed this to be a priority question.

Full-fledged development of national culture, unfettered by any stagnant prejudices, will ultimately help to more successfully resolve other problems as well—this, probably, was the prevailing opinion. Yet at the same time each one designated his own aspects of the topic.

#### To Combine Experience

[V.M. Vanyushev] Conditions for self-discovery must be created for each nation. After all, every people has a great abundance of talents. There is a saying: An Udmurt comes with a song even from the mill. They are a people who love to sing. Yet today in our republic there is only one member of the Udmurtia Composer's Union. Does this speak of a lack of giftedness of the people? Of course not. We have the only music school in the city. For a long time it did not even have a dormitory, and accepted only city residents. Today, it is true, there is talk of opening a boarding school for gifted children. Yet here they begin to accuse us of demanding special privileges for ourselves.

They ask us: Why is the organ of the Udmurt ASSR Union of Writers, the journal MOLOT, published only in the Udmurt language? Why doesn't the children's newspaper also have a Russian analog? Of course it would be very nice if our children who cannot read Udmurt also had their own journal in the republic. However, there are Russian children's journals in Moscow, and if we take away part of the circulation of our small journal from the Udmurt children, then what will they read?

[A.I. Dmitriyev] It seems to me that we must be more attentive to the demands which are being formulated by the people. For example, we in the journal editorial office get many letters from those comrades who live beyond the boundaries of the republic. They, like litmus paper, reflect those problems which we in the republic sometimes cannot see. Although the Chuvash are a restrained people, we do get some letters in which they heartily thank us for some material which we published in our journal. However, difficulties arise with subscriptions, when a person who wants to receive a national newspaper or other publication is offered an subscription for a local publication as well. A person who lives outside the boundaries of his republic

must know the language of the people among whom he lives. That is as it should be. But is it necessary to achieve this in such a categorical manner?

Sometimes the situation becomes laughable. For example, we received a letter stating that in our native Soviet Armenia the soldiers are prohibited from subscribing to a Chuvash language journal. Why is the army afraid of our journal?...

[M.A. Usmanov] There are cases when new recruits bring books in their native language with them, and they are taken away...

[I.Ye. Namsinov] The formulation of a high culture of inter-ethnic relations—today this question is very acute. If we build our family of peoples and want it to be strong, we must deeply develop it, considering the accumulated experience and the ethics of international behavior. What am I referring to? First of all, tact in interrelations between nations. Secondly, tolerance to those peculiarities which certain nations have. This tolerance, I might add, must not be passive, but active. We have such a shortage of this! Here we must turn more often to Lenin. He spoke of tolerance and explained that we must distinguish the nationalism of a large nation from the nationalism of a small one. He spoke of the concessions to compensate at least in a small degree for that former mistrust which had been formed by small nations in regard to large ones.

Here the example of high international culture must be set primarily by the leadership cadres. Here the moral aspect must be the main one. The leader in an autonomous republic must have a high level of education, inbred culture, decency and honesty, and an in-depth knowledge of the theory and practice of national problems. This must be a person who can be trusted to deal with national questions. And who should not deal with them? A person who takes on the exclusive monopolistic right to resolve national questions and who easily waves about the bugaboo of nationalism. There is also another category of people who, being afraid of everything on earth, show an enviable loyalty even at the expense of the basic interests of their own nation, so as to secure themselves in a high position. These are national nihilists. There is also a third category—people who do not have definite moral direction, firm social values, and general democratic principles, uncultured people. Often they choose the path of sincere nationalism. All these people should not work in this sphere which is extremely fine, sacred, and touches the strings of the human soul...

[S.I. Efendiyev] It is no secret to anyone that we sometimes also find people who are easily infected with nationalistic ideas and who try to set their people apart at the expense of another.

Among the 2,500 nations and peoples in the world there is not one ungifted people. Every nation is unique and has enriched the spiritual values and moral criteria. Therefore,



we cannot allow complications, revitalization of the nationalistic vestiges and distortions of history, just as we cannot, of course, level and simplify national processes.

[S.M. Biche-Ool] Today, in my opinion, the main goal is to bring together the peoples of our country, to show that facet on which Leninist national policy is built. This cannot be done with just slogans and general theories. We must begin with the family. Look what happens sometimes at the household level. Young mothers, wanting to quiet their children, might say: if this is in a Tuvvin family—"the Russian man will take you away if you cry". In a Russian family it is "a Tuvvin man will take you away..." And so on. Yet among the people, in the truly kind family there are truly international traditions. These are the ones we must all develop...

[A.I. Dmitriyev] On our Povolzhye region we have long had a family of nations and peoples in a good sense of the word. Here great popular experience has been achieved—the material for strengthening our multinational family...

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] The result of this turn in our discussion was the collective conclusion: In each national region the economic and social progress must inevitably be accompanied by spiritual progress, which is tied with cultural self-sufficiency of each nation and people...

#### To Seek Solutions

[A.I. Dmitriyev] I would like to raise one more question—that of the training of national cadres. Here is a fresh example. The art editor of our Chuvash journal is leaving us. It would seem that there is a choice. There are many artists. We have an art school and an art-ethnography department at the institute. Every year many specialists are graduated, but none of them know the Chuvash language, not even the Chuvash themselves. While they are studying theory, they become completely unaccustomed to the Chuvash language. We have been looking for an artist for 3 months now, and we cannot find one.

[I.Ye. Namsinov] It is a most delicate problem—the problem of language. We in Kalmykiya have a very high percentage of those who know the Russian language. And this is wonderful! There is also a comparatively high percentage of those who have a mastery of their native language. And this is good too! But how will the process go on in the future? Here, I believe, we must approach the question in a well thought-out, unimpassioned manner, without artificially fanning the passions. Some boast of the fact that they have created some special language study kindergartens. But is this right? Let us take 100 children: 40 Kalmyks, 40 Russians, and 20 of other nationalities. If we make a Kalmyk kindergarten, what then? Do we throw out all the others? This is a problem. We might add, it is a problem of isolation from infancy...

Bilingualism, I will remind you, has its advantages in education. Science has proven this. A person who has a mastery of two languages is inclined toward abstract thinking. A bilingual child is well prepared for assimilating certain knowledge. I agree with those who propose

that there should be clearly formulated national-Russian bilingualism and Russian-national bilingualism. A child perceives the world with his mother's milk and with his mother's language. And the dominant here must be the mother tongue.

This means that here, on one hand, we must create an active national background from the day of birth. We must prepare [the child] for perception of his language, as well as of some other language, that very same Russian language. People who live in a national republic must study the language of the native nationality. We have good experience in this regard. The older generation of those who came to our villages has a good mastery of the Kalmyk language. These are the traditions which must now be remembered and introduced, and not by decree, but by skilled propaganda.

Of course, there are many problems. We conducted an ethno-sociological study for real knowledge of the Kalmyk language. We might add that we selected a village where the language was preserved better than in the city. Here is what we found: 62.4 percent of the people have a good command of the language. This is in a village where the Kalmyk language is most clearly expressed. That means that around 40 percent of the people either do not know the language or do not know it on an everyday level. That is the linguistic situation here. We decided to build a long-term program of rebirth and reanimation of the language with consideration for the actual state of affairs. We are planning subjective-national education, with the Russian language as a subject. Then the child will become accustomed to perceiving two languages. We will begin instruction in the primary school. We will see how it goes. Then we will change over to Russian starting with the 5th grade, but with mandatory instruction in the Kalmyk language up to the 10th grade. It will be mandatory in the PTU [vocational-technical schools], in the secondary special educational institutions, and maybe we will even introduce it in the VUZes...

[V.D. Mikhaylov] We also thought and thought, and here is how we tried to solve this problem. We introduced instruction in the Yakut language as a subject. The other subjects were taught in Russian. The idea was that children of other nationalities would also take these classes. Yet it turned out that only Yakut children enrolled in them. It turned out to be a Russian school with Yakut classes. Starting with this year, by decision of the State Committee on Public Education, the Yakut language has been introduced as a subject for all grades and for all children. For the present we are starting with the first grade. This is being well received. The parents only asked that the grades not be entered on the certificate of graduation. I believe that this is the optimal variant.

[V.M. Vanyushev] It is very important to know the language of the people among whom you live. However, it is no less important to try to capture their soul, their mood, and their charm. We in Udmurtia love the Russian poet Oleg Poskrebyshv. His Russian is wonderful and he has a good knowledge of the history of his

people. Yet at the same time he has expressed the Udmurt national ideology as no other writer could.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] The "roundtable" discussion touched not only upon the acute problems. Its tone was constructive. The creative editorial storehouse was replenished with specific addresses, names, and proposals. Some of them, we believe, are of public interest.

[M.Z. Zakiyev] I have a proposal: to change the State Committee on Protection of Nature to the State Committee on Ecology, charging it with protecting not only the living world, but also the monuments of nature connected with the life of man, entire nations, the protection of languages and the uniqueness of national cultures. The ecology of nature must ultimately join with the ecology of culture and the ecology of man... It was a wonderful idea to create the Institute of Man. It could also deal with the study of inter-national relations.

[S.I. Efendiyev] I am truly disturbed by the obvious "lack of ownership" of the theory and practice of inter-national relations. We in the Northern Caucasus have many scientific-research institutes on various agricultural cultures. Yet we need one more scientific-research institute—on the development of inter-national relations. This question has long come due...

[M.A. Usmanov] In order to more effectively influence the process of mutual enrichment of cultures, in my opinion it is necessary to show concern not only for the native nationality, but also for the cultural minority. For example, why not create palaces of culture for the Chuvash and Udmurts in Tataria? Why not open a Tatar Palace of Culture in one of our neighboring republics?

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] This "roundtable" discussion had a particularly concerned tone. The reason for this is clear. Each one of those who met in the editorial office, as we have already noted, has a direct relation to building the multi-national family.

It was decided at the meeting that the theme of the all-Russian house and the fraternity of peoples in all its multiplicity will always be present in the newspaper. We intend to have a permanent column on our pages, where together with the readers we will discuss actually existing problems in inter-national relations, as well as the experience in cooperation which we have achieved and which will yet emerge in the process of perestroika.

#### **Academician Deplores Ethnic Injustice Facilitated by Bureaucrats**

18120049 Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in  
English No 18, 1988 p 17

[Article by Igor Nesteruk, senior researcher, Chernovtsy University]

[Text] The central papers are carrying more and more articles on international problems. For example, in A.Prokhanov's article "I was in Stepanakert..." [Literaturnaya Gazeta, No 32] we read: "The ethnic theme, in

many respects enigmatic, mysterious, unstudied, like the fourth block that exploded in Chernobyl, flew out into the world, engendered the reaction of destruction and began to spread, ready to explode the most complicated structures of our multiethnic state, whose construction, it must be said openly, includes some decrepit components that are useless today. It turned out that perestroika, in proclaiming spiritual pluralism (ethnic included), does not have ready-made renovated arrangements capable of trapping this sudden outburst and directing it to creative work."

I disagree with A. Prokhanov on two points:

Firstly, "sudden outburst" could very well be and should have been forecast.

Secondly, the growth of ethnic self-consciousness is one of the driving forces of perestroika, and is therefore used "for creative work" and not the other way round. I'll try to substantiate both theses.

In his article, A. Prokhanov has drawn a rather gloomy picture of unruly destructive forces as the fault of perestroika. But any educated person is familiar with dozens of national liberation movements which at times shook whole continents. I don't think Prokhanov would deny that our peoples are capable of standing for themselves. There is a need for this. By way of proof I'll mention some problems facing my Republic.

The Ukrainian language has for all intents and purposes been ousted from higher educational establishments. Excerpts from A. Dovzhenko's diary, recently published by the newspaper Literaturnaya Ukraina (No 29, 1988), contain the following words: "...In the 40th year of building socialism, in the capital of 40-million strong Ukraine, as well as in other higher schools in the Ukrainian Republic, the teaching of sciences is fully conducted in Russian. There is nothing like this anywhere in the whole world. I recall Lenin's letters on the nationalities question and think: don't tell me anything more... If my people are not favored with their own higher school, all the rest, whatever it may be, is unimportant. What prodigious amorality... What a cruel deception...". It is a pity that it took the opinion of the outstanding film director more than 30 years to be heard, but it is more annoying that his words fully retain their relevance. Will in the age of scientific and technological revolution a culture deprived of higher education be able to stand competition from its elder sister-Republic which enjoys this benefit? Our sad experience shows that the ousting of a strangled culture proceeds rather quickly. Hence the mounting unpopularity of Ukrainian schools among the city population, supported by a disproportionately large number of Russian kindergartens.

Is it possible to call it Ukrainian television when it shows films in Ukrainian only once every six months? Even the small number of films made in Ukrainian are dubbed into Russian. Is there any need, given this, to be surprised about mass-scale ethnic nihilism among our youth?

The list of such examples of ethnic injustice could be continued.

In our multiethnic state the nationalities question has never been discussed for the reason of its "complete" solution. In the years of the cult and stagnation there was no less rewarding and more dangerous job than to defend ethnic freedom. And today we have neither the culture nor the experience to be able to discuss this most delicate topic. Which is why the "outburst" could very well have been forecast.

The growth of ethnic self-consciousness observed today is, no doubt, a positive phenomenon. It must be clearly distinguished from ethnic enmity, which found its extreme and horrible manifestation in Sumgait. Perestroika returns to people the awareness of their self-dignity, the feeling of being master of their enterprises, their city and their country—values which, in turn, promote and speed up reforms. The reviving of ethnic pride and the striving to understand the problems of their own culture and solve them are integral parts of the beneficial process of renovation.

The inability to see the progressive, fundamental principle of ethnic revival and its noble aims is unfortunately characteristic not only of A. Prokhanov's article. Similar ideas have, unfortunately, become so deeply rooted in mass consciousness, and not only in the center but also in the outlying areas, that it is impossible to ignore them. What's needed is persistent explanatory work, and not the intimidation of the man in the street by a demonstration of force. This work must be started by admitting the existing ethnic injustices and by conducting a regular analysis of them by representative commissions accountable to corresponding Soviets. We should not forget the precepts of the classics of Marxism that a nation oppressing another nation cannot be free.

We are working for the purity of rivers and cities and protecting disappearing species of animals and plants, but for some unknown reason broad public circles are keeping mum about the tragic situation with the Byelorussian language, threatening the destruction of a culture of a multimillion people strong. We must shout for help, and receive it from the world's multiethnic community.

The most energetic measures are needed to combat the "erosion" of languages. One of such measures might be giving them the status of state languages on the territories of the corresponding state formations (Union and Autonomous), by providing necessary guarantees for Russian being the language of interethnic communication and others, the languages of ethnic minorities.

The question arises: who's preventing the solution of interethnic problems? The bureaucrat, and not necessarily from Moscow, but our "countryman", capable, for the sake of his career, of disavowing his own mother, who conceals his true intentions with speeches about internationalism. Therefore, it is the bureaucratic machine which is responsible, first and foremost, for the extremes in the interethnic sphere which have arisen of

late, and not only for excesses in the past, but also for today's inability to eliminate these excesses. It's this bureaucratic machine that's responsible for Sumgait and not the Stepanakert intellectuals, as Prokhanov is trying to present. Therefore, successes in the struggle with the administrative-command style of leadership and its supporters, who are ignoring the wishes of individuals and whole peoples, are the best guarantee against a repeat of such tragedies. Let's learn to live together!

#### **Armenian Journalist Scores Balance, Veracity of Media's Crisis Coverage**

18300173a Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian  
12 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Armen Oganessian: "Once More on the Special Mission"; republished from the 3 Nov 88 YEREKOYAN YEREVAN]

[Text] Several days ago commentator Armen Oganessian published an article in the Armenian-language newspaper YEREKOYAN YEREVAN [No 257, 3 Nov 88], "Once More on the Special Mission," which was a kind of report on his business trip to the editorial staff of the newspapers VETERAN, and the Ukrainian newspaper RABOCHAYA GAZETA. Bowing to the many requests from our readers, we are reprinting that article today, with minor abridgments by the author.

Ukrainian-Armenian interpreter O. Bozhko and I set out together for the editor's office of RABOCHAYA GAZETA. Our talk with N.A. Shibik, chief editor, and I.G. Litvin, a member of the editorial staff and a department head, lasted nearly an hour. The editor argued the purpose of the article as follows:

"Our article is not in any way different from what we are reading in the central press, and we have seen more serious things on television... That they beat a soldier to death raised no doubts among our comrades. I did not authorize the materials: I was on leave, but I would have signed them; as editor, however, I would have edited them in two or three places. We recounted the eye-witness story for purely informational purposes... We were aware that you would be discussing this article at various levels in the press, at meetings, and at the Central Committee. I do think that this topic will be continued, for we have received letters and telegrams from Armenia—we will return to them later... What I do not understand is why it was necessary to duplicate and distribute the article, and to whose advantage it was to do so..."

"The fact that it was published, you can understand, but the fact that it was duplicated—you cannot understand? Hardly anyone in our republic was interested in your newspaper. The attention and the indignation was caused by the publication of this article; people wanted to read it through, and find out what the Ukrainian newspaper had written. The indignation of the people is explained by the fact of the duplication."

"The people?" No, that was not done by 'the people.' For that you need paper, special machines, facilities... 'The people' could not have done this."

"So that means it was done, as you noted, by 'certain foreign circles.'"

"Of this we will all learn...in time... We all shall have certain information. And perhaps it will turn out to be interesting."

"We too will be interested in finding out just what these 'powerful levers' are..."

"Whether they are powerful or not, I don't know; but that they exist—that's a fact, and one must not forget about that."

"You are speaking on a global scale. But those who prepared the report must have been at least somewhat informed on the topic you illuminated."

"They received information."

"Only from the soldiers?"

"And from the officers."

"And it turns out that soldiers and officers cannot be mistaken, cannot be impulsive, cannot be pursuing other goals?"

"We had no other purpose than this: to show what the participants in the incident saw and heard."

"And a Soviet officer cannot lie, is that not so?"

"We had no grounds for suspicion, that they were lying."

"A great many people are well-informed about the events in Karabakh and on the situation in Yerevan," interjected Bozhko. "If RG [RABOChAYa GAZETA] publishes material..."

"Excuse me, just who are you?" asked the editor.

Bozhko introduced himself.

"Where do you work?" The editor took his pen.

"At the magazine VSESVIT."

"Full-time staff?" He took down the information.

"Yes, yes, I'm full-time staff. Whereas before this our newspapers used to reprint information from TASS, after reading the material prepared by your newspaper—which have a marked anti-Armenian character—one was left with a very disturbing impression. I follow current events, and I know what is in fact going on. But from what you printed, it follows that furious crowds of Armenians there want to destroy everyone and everything. When one is talking about international relations, delicacy and tact should be given special emphasis..."

"I repeat," the editor interrupted, "I have no doubt that it was necessary to publish the article; although it is true, here and there one might have edited it."

"Why did your paper not publish anything after the events in Sumgait?"

"We published the official materials."

"The official materials were about the events in Yerevan."

"At that time the troops had not yet returned to Kiev. There was no peg on which to hang the information... Furthermore, we have many internal problems ourselves and there are not enough staffers to send anyone to your place... Thus, we shall return to this topic again..."

"Very well. We shall wait. And may we meet with Abdullin and Svishch (authors of the 'Special Mission' [Spetszadanie] reportage)?"

"Abdullin is not here and Svishch is on a business trip."

And that is basically the account of our entire conversation. All the ideas are, as they say, in context, and not one important argument was omitted—since this, like the following dialogs, was taped on a magnetic recorder, and both the conversation above and those to follow are reproduced word-for-word.

Since the editors stated that they intend to return to the given topic, and that the letters and telegrams coming in from Armenia will be considered, as well as the contents and the direction of the translated text of the article "The Items of Indignation," and the "strictly secret" information to which the editors were privy, it would probably be best to wait for the continuation of "Special Mission." For that reason Bozhko and I decided to delay for awhile our intentions to bring suit at one of the courts in Kiev.

We also decided to appeal to the Kiev department of the Ukrainian Writers' Society, with a request for assistance in organizing a press conference.

I had set off for Kiev with a letter from M. Grinchak, a Ukrainian woman:

"...I cannot write to every Armenian, but whoever finds this letter in his hands, please let him consider it my personal appeal to him.

"The time has come when we can no longer be just observers—even sensitive, understanding, sympathetic observers, but observers nonetheless. The shroud has been torn away which holds the natural desire of a person to lend a hand to those close to him, to send one's warmth and one's love. There is no need to stand around on the sidelines and see whether they understand you properly... I—am a Ukrainian woman. I am proud of my people; I am proud of the culture of my people. The Ukraine has its anguish. It is in the lump in the throat of a singer. Song—it can express everything. In order to understand the soul of a people, you must listen to its

songs... And two voices sing out within me—Shevchenko and Komitas—two songs which know no limits of depth, in which sorrow and joy reflect the purity of the singer's soul, and the entire history of his people. I believe that love will save all of us... Just do not allow Strength and Hope to abandon you! There are thousands of people on your side, who share your anguish, who are experiencing it as if it were their own!:"

M. Grinchak's letter convinced me even more of the fact that in Kiev I would meet many, many people who, having read the ill-starred article in "RG" had formed a completely different opinion, took another approach, and made another interpretation. And I was not mistaken, because the age-old friendship of the Armenian and Ukrainian peoples is strong; because there are many people like Grinchak... I believe it would be well to cite several examples:

"I just don't understand, when they send troops to this or that region of the country—namely, young men, still immature (not in a physical sense, of course), why by dint of fate or by virtue of their oath, are placed on one side—and the people on the other. And after all they are, as they say, the offspring of the same country. There is a militia apparat—let them take up these things. As far as the article is concerned, the very parallel of Stepanakert and Sumgait is—monstrous. Sumgait—that was murder, pogroms, genocide. There is no such article in our law; that's one thing. But this does not mean that such a thing did not take place. Murderers must bear the severest punishment, so that the desire does not suddenly spring up in one region of the country to take up arms, in order to resolve one's national problems. We have become accustomed to oversimplify our interpretation of these questions, calling everything nationalism. In Armenia an outburst of national self-awareness has taken place... When I heard the speech of G. Pogosyan, I heard anguish. The speech of S. Ambartsumyan—that brave, wise, intelligent man; perhaps he did not want to speak so sharply at such a level. But he was forced to; he did his duty. And the fact that representatives of other republics spoke, these were all indifferent people..." (Ye.I. Abramovich, a worker.)

"I was stunned by the article which I chanced to read in our newspaper. I wanted very much to look these authors in the eye... As a Ukrainian woman, I am simply ashamed. I have other information as well. My husband was in Yerevan; he saw everything with his own eyes, and I have no reason not to believe him... My husband is Russian. And I, as a Kievite, know well the value of certain articles in our press—especially after Chernobyl, when in defiance of logic they were able to tell fairy tales. In the given situation, it is not clear which circumstances require them to protect us from the correct information. That we would all of a sudden not understand properly? Not likely... And suddenly we react improperly again..." (I.N. Gorshkova, artist.)

"I've learned that our newspaper published a piece of reporting from Armenia. I've also learned that there is

another position in the Armenian newspaper, which does not at all coincide with the former. As a member of the public, I suggest that my comrades discuss these two materials at our forthcoming conference, so that the people might truly understand wherein lies the essence of those problems, which today face not only the Armenian and Ukrainian people, but the entire country. The essence of perestroika, the essence of a new conception of life and human existence... I believe the press must provide objective, analytical information, which would contribute to and enrich our thoughts, and not only fix on that which someone might show from the side..." (A.N. Sheykin, a member of the Coordinating Council of the Popular Society for Support to Perestroika, a mechanic.)

(The other day they called from Kiev; the participants unanimously condemned the position of "RG.")

"We, the young people and students, have lost our faith in the central and republic press. We know from our own experience that the central press can write about our society, "Gromada" [rural assembly in Ukraine, Belorussia], whereas the local press is simply silent. The article in "RG" did not surprise us, since in the Ukraine the stagnation continues, the press is carrying out someone else's will, and they cannot write anything else. Of course, the biased attitude of a minority is not the voice of the people of the Ukraine. We shall try to do everything possible, that the people of the Ukraine learn the truth about the events in Armenia, that the Ukrainians might have their own say, as internationalists." (V.V. Chemeris, a student at Kiev State University.)

"To be quite honest, I am frightened by the appearance of such materials. I remember well the broadcasts that preceded the events at 'Zvartnots' [ancient cathedral in Armenia], how the soil was prepared in advance, so that we would take everything at face value... It troubles my heart, that it seems that an appropriate reaction is prepared for any new 'action.' Kievites know well the cost of an information vacuum and starvation... When I was returning from Yerevan on the train, they took away from me several articles and some historical information... Then at the militia they tried to get me to return to the 'path of truth,' to convince me that disturbances were rife in Armenia, that there is a mass of provocateurs there. They were altogether sincere, and that is terrible. Here I see the poisoning influence of lies, when the press, which should be a mirror of the social processes, is turned into a distorting mirror—and that can have terrible consequences..." (A.A. Dubinskiy, artist.)

On 17 October, a press conference was convened at the Writers' House, to which representatives of the editors of 16 newspapers and magazines were invited. Six representatives came. Also taking part were writers and students. I briefly laid out the essence of the problem, after which A.Katsey, executive secretary of "RG" spoke.

On the whole he repeated what Shibik had said, holding forth on the style of exposition and the manner of perception; he then expressed surprise as to why they are

so indignant in Armenia. But the sophistries of the executive secretary and his obviously untrue statements had no influence on the course of the press conference.

Through his statement, Ukrainian poet Pavlo Movchan put the press conference onto an entirely different course:

"I read that piece of reporting yesterday, I've just been listening to you, and I'm staggered by all this empty rhetoric, which today seems an absolute anachronism. You are defending your position for completely understandable reasons, but the fact of the matter is that you have actually supported the spreading of lies and disinformation—for which you deserve a response. That which Oganessian has told us here, and that which we know from many sources convinces us of the fact that all this is not so... Yes, the events in Nagornyy Karabakh are being utilized as a "scapegoat" by the enemies of perestroika; and it is in dishonest hands. Clear confirmation of this were the events in Sumgait. It seems to me that you are caught up in some sort of game. What are you writing about and speaking about here? Why do you turn to Armenia, as if we have no problems here, including our own nationality problems. Publish the article by our Armenian colleagues, and let the reader himself decide what is right and what is wrong... Do you not understand what you have done? In the central party newspaper the materials on Armenia and Karabakh are signed by Chernenko and Ovcharenko (Author's note—Ovseyenko is the author of the article in VETERAN—A.O.). Do you really not understand that a certain mood, a certain turn of mind is being created... I am indignant that our names and our newspapers are being used for someone's advantage...I propose that the Kiev Department of the Ukrainian SSR Writer's Society appeal to the Ukrainian CP Central Committee that the article in question be held up for discussion in the pages of the press. We can say here that you are mistaken, but the people will not find out about it. International relations are a delicate phenomenon; games are impermissible here. Every attempt to distort the truth is a return to yesterday, and an impediment to perestroika. Stalin's program of strife and enmity, with its 50-year history, is only ending today. This is a minefield of delaying action... If in the future we permit our press and our names to be used for these purposes—that will be a disgrace..."

The party secretary explained that they cannot avoid publication of materials of a different kind. And here, one of the participants, V. Divnich, a student, said: "I can offer material of a different kind. I was in Yerevan from 18-26 September; I took part in the meetings, at which they read, without any commentary, excerpts from the article in your newspaper. And I remember full well the kind of indignation that piece of reporting aroused. Can 'RG' not consider my opinion as well—what I think about the article in question, and what is in fact going on in Armenia? After all, I am also an eye-witness..."

(You can be sure that, that is exactly how "RG" is using Divnich's report.)

A representative of the newspaper NYUS FROM UKREINEN (NOVOSTI UKRAINY), A. Kulikov, specifically stated: "Everyone's opinion on one question or another in our life should be respected and valued; therefore, today I am deeply grateful for the information I've received, and I trust my Armenian colleague. On my own part, I shall do everything in my power to see that the readers find out about what has occurred here. And my comrades will also find out... I think that these two articles must be discussed at the Ukrainian Journalists' Society..."

I informed those present that Comrade N. Shibik was sent an official statement from the Armenian Journalist's Society, that contains just such a proposal.

(Incidentally, the chairman of the Ukrainian Journalists' Society is...Comrade N.A. Shibik. An article by S. Grechanyuk, published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 43, raises, among other problems the conservatism of the Ukrainian press, which remains true to the old instructions. The article contains lines such as: "In the opinion of Shibik, chairman of the republic journalists' society, all too much is being written about the mass closings in previous years of Ukrainian schools, and on other violations of Lenin's national policy, in the years of stagnation..." This was said in anger. And we too can be assured that Shibik is not the person to present these two articles for discussion by the society. But the chairman is one matter; the army of Ukrainian journalists is another. By the way, an official application with the very same contents was sent to the chairman of the Council on Professional Ethics and Law, of the USSR Journalist's Society, N.N. Chetvertikov, and to the Armenian Journalists' Society, which should be persistent in the matter of all-round examination of the question.)

The press conference took the form of sharp and decisive criticism of the position of "RG." Writers V. Kochevskiy, O. Bozhko, Ye. Dudar, R. Ivchenko, I. Gnatyuk, I. Bylek, and M. Shevchenko spoke out. The chairman of the Kiev Department of the Ukrainian Writers' Society, I. Drach, specifically had this to say: "It is understandable, that the newspaper should give an account of what was stated by the soldiers and officers. Every sergeant and every officer can have his own sergeant's or officer's view on the events; but where is the position of the newspaper's chief editor, Shibik? After all, he is obliged to be acquainted with the problem from all sides; and he was obligated to think well before publishing material of this kind... I believe it was an improper political step. I suggest that, on our part, Bozhko be sent to Armenia, in order that he might become familiar, on the scene, with the essence of the question; that he personally discuss it with representatives of the given unit, and report his findings in the pages of LITERATURNAYA UKRAINA.

I then responded to questions, provided additional information, and acquainted them with documents and photographs. We said our farewells to the press-conference participants on the Kreshchatik. And we had a drink of water from a fountain, inscribed in Armenian and Russian, "Yerevan-Kiev-1982."

It was later, in Moscow, that I read an article in a Moscow periodical by Igor Nesteruk, a senior scientific fellow at Chernovtsy University in the Ukraine, "The Return of Virtue:" "The question arises, who is it that is preventing the resolution of international problems? It is the bureaucrat; moreover, not necessarily in Moscow, but our 'good old countryman,' who is capable of renouncing his own mother for the sake of his career, and at the same time covering up with speeches about internationalism..."

It is hard to say it better.

R. Kocharyan, party committee secretary of the Karabakh Silk Combine, and I set out for a meeting with the chief editor of the weekly, VETERAN. F.N. Khalturin could not give us more than ten minutes—he was in a hurry.

I shall single out two questions and answers from our conversation:

"You have written that, according to reports from the press, radio and television, a curfew has been imposed in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in the Agdamskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan SSR. Meanwhile, you tell only about Stepanakert and Yerevan. Why?"

"We didn't think it necessary."

"Why?"

"We did not have the opportunity. We managed to meet with two officers, who had been in these two cities."

"Did the editors not find it necessary, even for the sake of formal objectivity, to turn to the events which took place in Agdam?"

"If it's necessary, we shall do so... Do not forget, that our newspaper was established only recently, and we do not have the wherewithal, nor do we have enough workers..."

Kocharyan began to refute, point by point, the fabrications of Lt Col V. Uzlyan, pointing out factual errors, confusion and distortions. He declared that it was right in Agdam that an attack was made for the purpose of seizing a submachine gun, and right now a criminal case is being prosecuted on the part of the USSR Procuracy, and that... But he stopped here, suddenly sensing that this was of little interest to Khalturin. The editor hurried on:

"If disinformation took place, if the nation was slandered, then both the chief editor and the author of the material, and the persons who gave out the false information will be punished."

"If possible, one more question," I continued. "You write that amateur artists from the unit gave 44 concerts in Yerevan, and on the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes. If you take two concerts a day, that turns out to be 22 days. What, didn't they have anything else to do?"

"They brought their singing and dancing ensemble with them."

(As you see, the chief editor has carried things to the absurd. An amazing thing has happened: it turns out that for "normalization" of a special situation, they take a singing and dancing ensemble with them!)

I was especially interested in the factual basis for the following lines from the statement by Lt Col Rakitin: "...Not one of our troops acted contrary to his conscience, but remained true to his oath and his duty. And they were offered large sums of money, alcohol, narcotics, and women in exchange for relaxing their vigilance while on duty." How did Correspondent Ovseyenko verify all this? And in general, what convinced him of the reality of these facts?

"There were no notices with respect to the article at the Main Political Directorate, nor in the units' political departments."

"And you did not think that both lieutenant colonels could be non-objective, not to say—not entirely honest, in carrying out their order?..."

"Qualifying examinations were coordinated with the appropriate authorities. Their experience was taken into account... They had been in Yerevan, Stepanakert, and Sumgait several times..."

"And there too?"

"Yes."

And finally, as his strongest argument, the correspondent withdrew a folded paper from his desk drawer:

"This is the official document which we received from the MVD."

I read: "On 25 July 1988, Sergeant Uluchenok, along with Privates Afanasyev, Zheltkov and others, military unit such-and-such, while escorting the bath-house supervisor to his home after dark, were invited by the latter (i.e., the bath-house supervisor) to remain overnight with him, and at that time they were promised liquor and women. An official document was drawn up on all this." I read on: "An eighth-grade student at Secondary School No 38 in Yerevan, Gabe by name, offered to the servicemen of military unit such-and-such, some girls with which to get acquainted; which was reported to the rono [Regional Public Education Department]... Privates Nikolayev, Ovchinnikov, Zhukov and others declined to meet with the women."

"It goes without saying, those are 'killer' arguments... But what about the large amounts of money?"

"The driver of vehicle U-46-81-AD offered Junior Sergeant Propin and Private Mladshov a bribe in the amount of 10,000...No, excuse me, 1,000...No, excuse me, 100 rubles..."

"For what service would the driver have to offer 100 rubles to the soldiers?"

"So that they would not write down his license number."



"But there is no curfew in Yerevan. What was the soldier supposed to hide?"

"I don't know."

You and your conscience, your probity, Lt Cols Rakitin and Uzlyan; correspondent Ovseyenko, editor Khalturin; you and your conscience... An anonymous (even if he had a name) bath-house supervisor, an eighth-grade student, and... Such serious reports; the naming of titles, surnames; "the appropriate document was drawn up..." And playing unworthy games with the moral atmosphere of our city, with the good name of our women, our people. How much effort is needed to catch hold of such paltry "facts."

The reader has probably already guessed that, neither at the editors' of RABOChAYa GAZETA, nor the moreso at VETERAN, were there the conditions and prerequisites for serious discussion, for contrasting of opinions, for discussion and analysis of the facts and events; the arguments heard here were at a very primitive level... If the executive secretary of a newspaper can lie brazenly; if the fabrications and inventions of a correspondent are taken at face value, then at what level and how seriously can one even speak here...

Our general allergy to the reports and publications of the mass information media has already passed through its initial, its most stormy, stage. So what is left? Should we laugh? Hardly. Although even laughter would not hurt here.

The time has come for the highest republic authorities and representatives of the very widest strata of the public to strive with all decisiveness and demandingness, for official refutation of lies and slander. That which the Azerbaijan press writes "is understandable." What are not at all understandable are the echoes and repetitions. In our day there are no unexplained things and there cannot be...

No doubt the question will arise, "All right, now what? Do we end it here?..." Certainly not. The commission of one mistake does not mean a second is inevitable. Strong, straight-thinking people are able to admit their mistakes. Trying to avoid taking sides, trying to extricate oneself, or trying to think up lame excuses—is for others to dare.

The question is not closed, and it will have its logical continuation.

#### **Students, Correspondents Discuss Role of Youth in NKAO Events**

*18300173b Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian  
22 Oct 88 p 3*

[Discussion, moderated by KOMSOMOLETS Debating Club members S. Arutyunyan, A. Gazazyan and G. Rubinyan: "In the Clash of Opinions..."]

[Text] In a recent issue of our newspaper we proposed opening a debating club at the editorial offices. First to

respond to our proposition were students from the Oriental Studies Department of Yerevan State University, Tigran Ayrapetyan (Komsomol committee secretary for the fourth undergraduate year), Agasi Tadevosyan, Artak Ovsepyan (department Komsomol deputy committee secretary) and Armen Kharazyan (department Komsomol committee secretary). Also taking part in the conversation were Aram Avetisyan, correspondent for the magazine GARUN, and Layla Britse from Latvia, who works at the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH.

The discussion began with the question of the role of young people in the events which unfolded in Armenia, connected with the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh. The development of events indicated that by September the student body and student youth had moved to the vanguard of the movement. What caused this outburst of activity by the young people? We must admit that the dialog at the editorial staff turned out to be sharper than we had supposed. The question arose again and again, "And will all this be published?" We stand behind the right of everyone, and above all our own right, to one's own opinion, and we believe that it is namely in the clash of different opinions that a rational, constructive foundation must be laid, both for future discussions and for concrete, effective steps in the development of the student movement.

[KOMSOMOLETS] The development of events this year has shown that today various sections of the population taking part in the Karabakh movement have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to create social organizations and societies in order more fully and completely realize our political, public and social aspirations; for consolidating our forces on a platform of perestroyka; and for developing the process of democratization and restoring the health of society. One can only welcome this process. However, there are already, in our view, observed tendencies which are a cause for concern—the heterogeneity of the groupings, the contradictory nature of their programs, the lack of coordination of their activities; and, at times, their insistence on their right to leadership. At the same time at the basis of all this lies the idea of assertion of national self-consciousness. Anxiety over the fate of Karabakh and our fellow-countrymen—that is both the difficult part of the equation and the point of intersection of the interests and goals of all groups and sections of the population. Recognition of this should unite all the forces of society for working out a common national program. Most likely this would be helped by public discussion of the ideas expressed in various circles. Not long ago the program of the Armenian Student Society came into our hands. By whom was it worked out?

[Ayrapetyan] This, strictly speaking, is not a program but merely an outline. And it was worked out in a narrow circle of people; thus the opinion of the majority was not taken into consideration. Today we reject this program, and have adopted what is in our view the most effective program of the Armenian Nation-wide Movement, at the same time retaining our right to make our own decisions. Why has the



idea of creating an Armenian Student society come up just now? We believe that the student body must assume the role of vanguard and motive force. This was demonstrated by the latest student uprising as well. Moreover, it took place under the tricolor flag.

**[Avetisyan]** Incidentally, it would be a mistake to think that the tricolor flag is the Dashnak flag. This is the flag of the Armenian parliamentary republic, the government of which, by the way, included a communist faction. The Dashnak's never had their own flag! The evolution of the movement since February—from perestroyka slogans to the tricolor flag—is an expression of the fact that the idea of national unity has moved to the forefront.

**[Kharazyan]** This is not in conflict with the slogans of perestroyka, nor with our Soviet Armenian flag, which means a great deal for the Spyurk [Armenian diaspora]. We are proud of our coat of arms, which expresses everything that is dear to the people. It is another matter, that against the background of the events which have unfolded, a portion of the young people's faith in perestroyka and in the triumph of social justice has been shaken.

**[Ayrapetyan]** We have achieved a good deal, if only the fact that today we are not afraid to raise such questions, and to express our own opinion. The situation is a complex one, and that leads to the creation of various groupings and currents in the movement. But here I cannot agree with you. Cohesion does not mean the creation of a single organization. There can be many. However, in projecting a united front, they can fight for their goals. And this is what dialectics is all about. The current period can be called a period of temporary lull; everyone is waiting for the results of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission. If we do not get answers to our questions this time, it will be difficult to predict the consequences...

**[KOMSOMOLETS]** The task of political leaders is to show the way, and not to lead one to a precipice or present one with an impasse. The disorderly nature of the most recent uprisings showed that the people are tired of many months of pressure. And new forms of struggle must be sought, at the same time taking maximum advantage of constitutional and state levers for just resolution of the problem. Here we must also take into consideration the fact that changes must be introduced to the USSR Constitution, and that society is right now on the path to creation of a state of laws. We believe that the most important condition for a favorable outcome for any struggle must be the unity of the government and the people. The Baltic republics are teaching us a vivid lesson.

**[Britse]** Yes, today we can speak about unity. But it was not at all easy for us to achieve—have no illusions on that point. The creative intelligentsia became our leading force, and it is due all the credit for the fact that the program, initially considered chauvinistic and nationalistic, has now been recognized as a program for national renewal.

**[Ayrapetyan]** But we inherited from the so-called stagnation years a heavier legacy than the Baltic republics. Corruption had put down deep roots among us, which led to a certain discrediting of the authorities and the previous bureaucratic apparatus. The corruption had also touched our creative societies; and it is precisely for this reason that they do not carry out the progressive role which the creative societies have assumed in the Baltic republics. And we must take a different path. We have the problem of Karabakh, where the people's elementary rights to life and to the inviolability of their houses and possessions are not assured. Therefore, it is hard for us to wait.

**[Tadevosyan]** In the struggle with corruption and other negative phenomena, the role of the press and the mass information media is underestimated: Just as in the elucidation of the events in Karabakh. If the republic press had responded in a timely manner to the events taking place every day, every hour in Teatralnyy Square, then many people would not have found it necessary to go there themselves for current information. Why did the press show weakness? Why has the press been unable since February to publish even unevaluated materials and reporting? If the materials were there, but were not reported because of someone's decision, why didn't you protest? We would like to have our own student newspaper at the society we are creating, but if our collaboration comes to pass, then perhaps the need for a new print organ will disappear of itself. After all, you should reflect the point of view and position of not only the Komsomol Central Committee, but also that of various youth groups.

**[KOMSOMOLETS]** It is precisely for this reason that we created our debating club. We want to find out precisely what the Armenian Student Society proposes to do, and of your personal contribution to the solution of the Karabakh problem.

**[Ovsepyan]** It is still too early to speak of concrete activity. We can only speak of the contribution of the students of our department to the overall movement. There are plans to set up initiative groups at the department: a khozraschet group, which will be occupied with working out problems not only on domestic economic ties, but foreign ties as well; a political group, for coordinating questions associated with statehood, symbolism, the flag, and the coat of arms; a historical group, for looking into the "blank spots" in our national history; and a language group, for work on preserving the language. But this does not signify that we will not take up first of all the internal problems at the VUZ: free attendance at classes; self-government...

**[Kharazyan]** The students have taken upon themselves the role of information sources. Last spring we held a press conference at the Institute on the Countries of Asia and Africa on the problem of Nagorny Karabakh, and gave interviews to Estonian TV and Latvia radio. Incidentally, our contemporaries from the Baltic republics were well informed on the events in Karabakh and in Armenia. And here I would like to say this: Why not

think about setting up international student societies, and inter-republic popular fronts? This is necessary so that we do not find ourselves carrying the great problems all by ourselves.

[Ayrapetyan] If we want to speak in concrete terms now, of the extent to which the student movement is real, let us look back to the latest wave of uprisings. At that time we were speaking out for halting the workers' strike, assuming the continuation of the action ourselves—since it is namely the workers who suffered materially more than others. The civil servants, you see, continued to receive their wages...

**FROM THE EDITORS:** As you can see, the conversation was complex. The main thing required of us, is to take into consideration all the real forces. But, it seems to us, that the first attempt was not a flop. The debating club is awaiting its next interlocutors.

#### **Azerbaijani, Armenian Articles Debate Status, Historical Ties of NKAO**

**'Correctness' of Current Status Explained**  
*18300191 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian*  
12 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by L. Polonskiy: "A Fair Decision" (How some people try to interpret in their own way the decision of the country's highest organ of state authority regarding the status of Nagorniy Karabakh—an autonomous oblast within the Azerbaijan SSR)]

[Text] There is a historical reality—the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is part of the Azerbaijan SSR. It was created at the desire of the people, and in accordance with their expression of will. And although serious errors in politics and obvious backwardness in economic and social life were allowed in this region, on the whole it would be incorrect to deny the achievements of Nagorniy Karabakh in the development of the national economy and culture, and in the increased well-being of the people. The distortions and exaggerations, the negative occurrences which took place in Nagorniy Karabakh up until recently were characteristic to one degree or another also for other regions of Azerbaijan and of the country. They were engendered by deviations from Leninist principles and standards, by the woes of Stalinism and of the period of stagnation. The Armenian and Azerbaijani populations of the autonomous oblast both suffered from all this.

More than 60 years ago, Marietta Shaginyan, who keenly sensed the epoch and the aspirations of the people, wrote that the path selected by this region was correct. In her essay entitled "Nagorniy Karabakh" and published in Moscow in 1927, after a long trip throughout the oblast the writer noted that "by its geographical and economic face it is turned more toward Azerbaijan. That is where her marvelous mountain forest slopes lead, her rivers run, her roads lead, and along the course of these rivers and roads there extend the villages and the people,

bringing with them economic interests. They trade, buy, barter, adapt, meet demand, assimilate everyday traits, and are bonded by common goals. Therefore, after Sovietization, Nagorniy Karabakh went to the Azerbaijan republic, and in 1923 received its autonomy".

These wise and objective opinions of the internationalist writer, who can hardly be accused of prejudice, in themselves overturn the claims of those who try to prove the incorrectness of Nagorniy Karabakh's entry into Azerbaijan.

Due to the events in Nagorniy Karabakh and around it, the spring and summer of this year turned out to be hot in the Transcaucasus, and passions flared in the fall as well. The incredible, the seemingly impossible happened: There was an open attack on the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution and the USSR Constitution, an effort to circumvent the Basic Law of the country, and moreover—to negate it. An acute and critical situation arose. Under these conditions, the supreme organ of state power, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said its firm and decisive word. At its July meeting it dealt principally and comprehensively with a discussion of the situation which had arisen, and came to an authoritative decision, the only decision possible.

The decision is just, because it is correct in a political, legal, and economic sense, and ultimately stems from the interests of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, as well as all the peoples of the Soviet Union. Friendship and fraternity of peoples have no acceptable alternative.

We will recall that in its resolution the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium "considers it impossible to change the boundaries and to establish on a constitutional basis the national-territorial division of the Azerbaijan SSR". At the suggestion of M. S. Gorbachev, joint efforts were made to seek an answer to the question which had arisen, "so that it would become a precedent for many other questions arising in the sphere of inter-national relations".

The overwhelming majority of workers in the country and in Azerbaijan greeted this decision with complete understanding and approval. The responses by S. Akopyan, drilling foreman at the "Bukhta Ilyicha" exploratory drilling administration, and V. Dzhalilov, general director of the "Azerelektrosvet" Association, which were published in the press during those days, were typical. "The interests of the entire country, the interests of the unified Soviet people are for us, the Soviet people, above all else. This was the principle which the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proceeded from in making its decision on Nagorniy Karabakh, and I am ready to sign my name to this decision". "With every line it is aimed at normalizing the situation, at strengthening our age-old friendship and good neighborly relations, and at restoring long-awaited peace and order in the fraternal republics".

The adopted decision is indivisible from the all-encompassing resolution by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers which provides specific,

immediate measures for accelerating the socio-economic development of the autonomous oblast. Many of these measures have already begun to be implemented. In context with these measures, resolutions on the continued development of the plains Karabakh region, the Nakhichevan ASSR, and the mountain regions have been publicized.

Having cleared all obstacles and landslides from the road of the outlined transformation and having heeded the voice of reason, we could quickly put an end to the emerging friction and hostility, overcome backwardness and make life brighter and more meaningful. But this, as we can see, does not suit everyone.

Immediately after the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium announced its verdict, some people began to interpret it in their own way. They began to view this resolution which is synonymous in its character and which allows no deviations, let alone distortions, under a different angle of perspective, seeking out loopholes which did not exist in its text. They stubbornly imposed the false and illusory notion that this document, supposedly, was an intermediate and temporary one.. It was only for the present moment, and a final, supposedly truly just resolution of the question of Nagorniy Karabakh still lies ahead. Sometimes this was done in a veiled and rather clever manner. On 22 July, V. Nazaryan, the head of the department of state, administrative and international law at Yerevan University, spoke out in IZVESTIYA in his article entitled "On a Legal Basis". Both the headline of the publication and its content on the whole supported the resolution. However, the notice also included the guarded lines which gave reason for doubt: "I, a scientist and lawyer, see the solution to the problem of Nagorniy Karabakh not as a one-time act, but as a process of goal-oriented actions in a situation of frank and comradely dialogue".

That means that the high decree emanating from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is not enough. It turns out that it must be followed by a process of goal-oriented actions?! We might ask, in the name of what goals, and who is to conduct this dialogue?

In a number of newspapers and in the broadcasts of Central Television in recent months we have had occasion to encounter statements which were devoid of any attempts at camouflage. Speaking out in favor of peace and order in Nagorniy Karabakh, in favor of friendship between peoples, the authors of these statements stated quite unequivocally that they look forward to a future fair resolution of the Karabakh question and await this event. Yet what is strange is that their personal wishes are not accompanied by the necessary comments of journalists whose job it is to remind us that the supreme organ of state authority has already made its weighty decision on this matter. The law is the law, and even if someone does not like it, it must still be strictly observed!

It is a pity that, in spite of the resolution and clearly ignoring it, the deputy from the Yerevan-Zeytunsk electoral district and a worker in public education, K.

Martirosyan, allowed herself to make the following irresponsible statement revising the decision of the supreme organ of state authority from the tribune of a recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "All strata of the population are preoccupied with the idea of a just political solution to the problem of Nagorniy Karabakh. Today all the other questions—be they guarantees of the safety of the Armenian population or the acceleration of the socio-economic development of the autonomous oblast, are derivatives of this idea in the consciousness of the workers".

Judging by everything, this statement was not a random one, and the deputy from Ilyichevskiy electoral district K. Abasov, who did not intend to deal with the question of Nagorniy Karabakh, was forced to remind us in his speech at the same session that the important document adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium contains a clear and definite answer, dictated by the firmness of the constitutional position.

The proponents of a "just" solution to the problem of Nagorniy Karabakh in the sense in which they choose to interpret it often refer to the statements of party and government leaders regarding the fact that many questions which demand answers have accumulated in our inter-ethnic relations. On a country-wide scale this is so, yet specifically concerning Nagorniy Karabakh a well thought-out and irreversible decision has been made, which has "dotted all the i's".

"The hopes of the youth are nourished, and give comfort to the old", wrote a poet. However, not all hopes are harmless and serve a good cause. Those who hope for a review of the decision on Nagorniy Karabakh and try to strengthen the faith of the people in this hope are doing a disservice. They facilitate not the soothing, but the fanning of emotions, not the rapprochement of nations, but their artificial contraposition. Let us recall the saying: "Different rocks are slippery to walk on..." The more often and the more persistently we hear the affirmations that sooner or later the problem of Nagorniy Karabakh will find its "just" solution in regard to its annexation to the Armenian SSR, the more tangibly perestroika will suffer in the region, and the more difficult it will be to heal the wounds inflicted upon our common house. This, in turn, gave rise to unrest, created an atmosphere of nervousness, suspicion and lack of confidence, which played into the hands of those who provoked the incident in Khodzhal and the burning of homes in Stepanakert and Shusha.

The hopes kept alive that a persistent demand for a "fair" solution to the question of Nagorniy Karabakh and "firmness" will have some effect hinder the realization of the program of socio-economic transformation in the autonomous oblast and seriously undermine the pace of the outlined work. A significant portion of the funds and material resources allocated by the country and the republic remain unspent, and in some places there is obvious or concealed sabotage.

Various ill-intentioned rumors and fabrications, absurd stories, and evil conjectures are associated in one way or another with the carefully spread assumption that the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium may be reviewed. Also, part of the population is ready to believe the fabrication that there has already been a decision to temporarily take the NKAO [Nagorniy-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] out of the make-up of the Azerbaijan SSR and to hand the autonomous oblast over to the Russian Federation. This, they say, would be for the time being, and then... The republic information agency must officially and most categorically refute these rumors and announce that such an idea has not been discussed anywhere.

The explosive rumor which might have become the Bickford fuse was stopped in time.

The people who sincerely cherish the notion of the possibility of a different solution on Nagorniy Karabakh, one dear to their hearts, knowingly or unknowingly play into the hands of the enemies of perestroika, the conservative and criminal elements who have gotten rich during the period of stagnation and who fear glasnost and perestroika. These people, in Armenia as well as in Azerbaijan, endeavor to distract attention from themselves, to avoid payment for what they had done in previous years. Destabilization of the situation in Nagorniy Karabakh and in the entire region—this for them is a gift of fate, partially a fruit of their zeal, the result of their speculative maneuvers. We cannot underestimate them. The leaders of the shadow economy, the champions of the principles and spirit of the stagnation period are united, and they are still strong and perfidious.

Demagogically waving national flags, the opponents of perestroika use any means to try to push the peoples toward a confrontation, to drive a wedge between them, and to strengthen and deepen mutual misunderstanding. In essence they draw together in attacking perestroika, since extremes tend to gravitate toward each other. The people of a by-gone day, the heroes and supporters of stagnation want to ride the crest even today. In many ways the picture of the recent ideological misfortune in the two neighboring republics is similar. The activists G. Aliyev and K. Demirchyan have left a heavy legacy: gross errors in politics and economics, distortions in work with the cadres, corruption and protectionism. It is on this soil that the events in Nagorniy Karabakh and around it have sprouted, evoking immediate reaction and phenomena which are deeply foreign to the nature of socialism and to our ideological principles.

Today, trying to disavow in one form or another the decision of Nagorniy Karabakh, annoyingly repeating and exaggerating the notion of the forthcoming "fair" solution, the circles opposing change in our society are abusing glasnost and democracy. They are the ones whom the CPSU Central Committee Politburo had in mind when it examined at its meeting the questions on preparing a party Central Committee Plenum on improving international relations in the USSR and

stressed the inadmissability of any efforts to use democracy and glasnost for anti-democratic purposes, to discredit our common international achievements and to sow inter-national dissention.

A fair solution to Nagorniy Karabakh, principled and irrefutable, has already been found. The country's supreme organ of state authority has decisively pointed out the political danger of unsubstantiated appeals to review the formulated national-state principles in the region, and has noted that the major outlined measures make it possible to ensure the continued development of the economy and culture in the autonomous oblast, to increase the well-being of the workers, and to strengthen socialist legality and public order. Everything possible must be done to restore friendly, fraternal relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian population.

The peoples of all the Soviet republics see a fair solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh question in unswerving respect for the existing national-territorial formulations secured by the Constitution, and in their obligatory acceptance. The interests of each of us individually and all of us together are concentrated not in futile arguments over the recarving of the land, but in close friendship, in unity and cooperation, so that every Soviet citizen will feel himself to be a full-fledged citizen in any region of the country. These sentiments were well expressed in the recent appeal by the participants of the Committee of Soviet Women's plenum to the women of Armenia and Azerbaijan. "If peace and mutual understanding will reign in the hearts and minds of your peoples—and we believe that they will!—then all the seemingly unresolvable problems will necessarily be resolved. New residential areas, hospitals, palaces of culture will spring up. Television and radio broadcasts will resound in your native language, and the air of your cities will become clean".

Most of the letters received by BAKINSKIY RABOCHIIY are in agreement with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution on Nagorniy Karabakh. Let us cite one of them, which was delivered to us in the first days of November: "I, Saakyan A. K., am a veteran of the Great Patriotic War and labor, a reserve officer, and a party member since 1945. I live in Baku, in Akhmedly and work at the 'Kaspmorneftegas' Production Association. I would like to say the following. I ask all the Armenians and Azerbaijanis of the two republics not to give in to the intrigues of the adventurers, the enemies of perestroika and organizers of dissent between the nations. We all need a calm, normal life. During the war we stood together in defending the Homeland, we gave our lives for it. We did not distinguish nationalities. We were all brothers, covered ourselves with the same coat, and shared the same piece of bread. We had the following slogan: "You yourself can die, but you must save your comrade!" No matter which republic we live in—it is our common ground. I was born and raised in Azerbaijan, and my children and grandchildren grew up here. My parents are buried in Azerbaijan. I have been to many cities, but I think that I could not live anywhere else but in my beloved Baku. Many of my friends, people

of different nationalities, also feel the same way. Recently there was an Armenian wedding in Baku, and many of the guests were Azerbaijanis, Russians, and representatives of other nationalities. They spoke in three languages, and this was nice to hear. I am convinced that our friendship will not be undermined, no matter what difficult trials it may be subjected to".

With these words from our reader we would like to conclude our article.

### **Azerbaijani Interpretation Blasted**

18300191 Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
24 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by A. Dulyan: "Do Not List Your Friends as Enemies"]

[Text] "There is a historical reality—the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is a part of the Azerbaijan SSR. It was created at the desire of the people, in accordance with their expression of will". This is the categorical beginning of an extensive article by L. Polonskiy entitled "A Fair Solution" and published in the republic newspaper *BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY*. It is devoted, as the title proclaims, to the denunciation of those who "try to interpret in their own manner the decision of the country's supreme organ of state authority regarding the status of Nagorniy Karabakh—an autonomous oblast within the make-up of the Azerbaijan SSR".

I would like to assure the author—no one intends to refute historical reality, whatever it may be. Yet as concerns the history of the creation of this autonomous oblast, here the historians and means of mass information, of course, have tried their best to prove that everything went smoothly at that time, without a hitch and all as it should be. However, in spite of all the efforts of the guardians of historical virginity, the truth comes to the surface, astonishing people and casting them into confusion. "Once I brought to work the Yerevan newspaper *KOMMUNIST*, which had printed a historical report on Karabakh, and hung it up on the wall. Almost the entire institute gathered around. Everyone was very surprised when they learned the history of Karabakh's inclusion into Azerbaijan", a Russian woman, Nina Kachorovskaya from Volgograd, writes to the editors of *SOVETSKIY KARABAKH*. So they have learned the truth in one more institute. So, life goes on, and now it has begun to flow in a stormy torrent, and soon in the entire world there will remain only one place where they do not desire to know, do not want and do not accept the truth. That is our fraternal union republic. However, as oriental wisdom tells us, not only L. Polonskiy, but Allah himself cannot make it so that the past will not exist.

"...Not everything was resolved then as ideally as we would like". I do not know whether this opinion will seem authoritative enough for the author of the article in *BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY*, but the "historical reality" is that it belongs to CPSU Central Committee Secretary General Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and was

uttered at that very same July meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium whose resolution, evidently, L. Polonskiy did not have a chance to read thoroughly. Otherwise the republic newspaper would not try to affirm that: "Distortions and exaggerations and negative occurrences which took place in Nagorniy Karabakh to one degree or another until recent times were characteristic also for other regions of Azerbaijan and of the country... Both the Armenian and the Azerbaijani populations of the autonomous oblast suffered from this".

Well, let us look at what the decision says on this point, the decision whose fairness, as I understand, the article's author does not doubt: "...for a long time in the autonomous oblast, many questions were not resolved which touched upon the national interests of the Armenian population, particularly in the sphere of culture, education, and cadre policy. The constitutional rights of the autonomous oblast were violated". So then, where is the reference to the "Azerbaijani population of the autonomous oblast"? And who was it that trampled its national dignity—the Azerbaijani authorities themselves? Or was it, perhaps, the Armenians?

To further confirm his "ironclad" thesis about the correctness of the "path selected by this region", the author presents the opinion of Marietta Shaginyan, whom we all respect, regarding the fact that "that is where (toward Azerbaijan) the villages and the people go, taking with them economic interests: they trade, buy, barter, adapt, meet demand, assimilate everyday traits, and join in common goals". In truth, the internationalist writer can hardly be accused of prejudice, since she described quite precisely the characteristic trait which has been developed by the Armenian people over the period of its age-long rocky and severe path: the ability "to fit in", "to adapt" to any circumstances, to find a common language, to get along in any surroundings, all the while not losing their sense of national dignity and respect for other nations. "I do not know a single Armenian who in France would stand out from his surroundings—in his pronunciation and demeanor. In Marseilles they are native Marseilles residents, in Lyons - Lyonians..." These lines from an interview by the French newspaper *MONDE* with the famous singer Charles Aznavour are in complete accord with the thoughts of the no less famous writer.

Since *BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY* claims to recognize its adherence to glasnost and pluralism, why not acquaint its readers with the article by the leading Russian poet, translator, publicist, and civic leader Sergey Gorodetskiy written almost 70 years ago, which, by the way, contains the following lines: "Being united ethnographically, economically, and in language, Karabakh has become the citadel of Armenia, its eastern flank. That is how it was in the past, that is how it is now, and that is how it will always be".

But all these are trifles. The main thing, in the opinion of the article's author, is the fact that this year something horrible and unspeakable happened. "The incredible, seemingly impossible happened: there was an open

attack on the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution and the USSR Constitution, an effort to circumvent the country's Basic Law, and moreover—to negate it”.

Who are these villains who have dared to attack the holiest of holies? As it turns out, these are simply the people's deputies of the oblast who in constitutional order gathered for their session, who in constitutional order turned to the parliaments of their two union republics with a constitutional request to review the question of whether they can realize their constitutional right to self determination. That same self determination which V. I. Lenin so jealously and passionately defended and on which, according to the Basic Law, our great Union is built. However, from the standpoint of those who for decades have themselves violated the “constitutional rights of the autonomous oblast”, and specifically—trampled in every way the national dignity of the Karabakh people, limited contacts with their fellow countrymen in every way possible, prohibited them from studying their own history, trying to turn them into vassals—from their standpoint, of course, the fact that these “vassals” have dared to straighten their backs and raise their heads may seem to be a terrible crime.

At the same time, only several tens of kilometers from the capital of Soviet Azerbaijan something really “incredible, seemingly impossible” was going on. Yet the article does not say a word about this truly monstrous, unfathomable occurrence.

Instead the author is indignant: “We might ask, in the name of what goals, and who is to conduct the dialogue?” Who? Probably Papuans with North American Indians. In the name of what? Why, if only in the name of seeing that the bloody Sumgait incident is not repeated, for whose description there was not even an appropriate article in the Criminal Code, so it had to be shamefully called “hooligan motives”. There is no solution, be it thrice-fair, that can by some miraculous means heal the wounds which are still bleeding and make people forget all that has happened, that can make them abandon their sacred hopes and aspirations, and begin to think differently...

Yes, unlike L. Polonskiy, who believes that “not all hopes are harmless and serve a good cause”, we nevertheless continue to cherish these “un- harmless” and “unkind” hopes. And the statement by the Armenian delegate at the USSR Supreme Soviet session—“irresponsible and revising the decision of the supreme organ of state authority”—this is but a statement of reality. Whether anyone likes it or not, all strata of the population really are preoccupied today with “the idea of a just political solution to the problem of Nagorniy Karabakh”.

“No one casts any doubt on the fact that the problem of Nagorniy Karabakh exists and must be resolved”. That is the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee Secretary General. But no, they do cast doubts, and how: “...a well thought-out and irrefutable decision has been made regarding Nagorniy Karabakh, one which has dotted all the “i”s”. That is what L. Polonskiy believes.

Does this mean that after a decision which in practice has retained the status-quo and left everything in its place, the problem has vanished by itself? Does this mean that there is nothing for the specially created Council of Nationalities committee to do? Does this mean that at the upcoming Central Committee Plenum everything will be discussed, whatever you like, but not the Artsakh problem? Yet we in our naivete continued to believe the “statements of party and government leaders”. Thank God that Comrade Polonskiy opened our eyes. Now we already know that “people who sincerely harbor the thought of the possibility of a different decision on Nagorniy Karabakh, one dear to their hearts”, and I believe there are probably about 3 million or more such people in the republic, “play into the hands of the enemies of perestroyka, the conservatives and the criminal elements”. Well, evidently in order to “restore friendly, fraternal relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian population” there is no other way but to list our friends as criminal accomplices.

In general, we can only envy L. Polonskiy's competency and degree of informedness: both his categorical comments on the CPSU Central Committee Politburo resolution and his marvelous knowledge of that in which “the peoples of all republics of the Soviet country specifically see a just solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh question”. We must admit, we did not know that our friends were able to hold an all-union referendum on the “Nagorno-Karabakh problem”.

Now let us say a few words about the “all-encompassing resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, which provides for specific and immediate measures for accelerating the socio-economic development of the autonomous oblast”. We may find out how these measures are being implemented from the report on an Azerinform briefing which was published in another issue of the very same BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY. Judging by the fact that this 5-column report makes 5 references to the name Khodzhal, with which, we might add, not the happiest of memories are associated, we may presume that in the fraternal republic the indicated resolution about the NKAO is interpreted in quite an original manner—as a decision about the socio-economic development of the village Khodzhal and other Azerbaijani population centers.

As concerns the “necessary prerequisites for expanding the ties of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast with the Armenian SSR” which were mentioned in the July resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Azerinform material presents a rather expressive example of such “expansion”. No sooner did the Yerevan Silk Combine try to establish contacts with Karshelkokombinat than the Gosarbitrazh [State Board of Arbitration] immediately imposed fine sanctions against the Artsakh enterprise, so that others would not follow suit. The “obstacles and landslides on the road to transformation” which L. Polonskiy mentioned unexpectedly took on a fully real meaning and content for the drivers

of the motor transport column bringing building materials into Karabakh for the residents of Sumgait and Shushin who had been left homeless.

The deputies of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet also quite realistically felt the "adherence to the law and the Constitution" so fervently defended by BAKINSKIY RABOCHIIY when they were forced to cut short their regular session because of unrest in the neighboring republic. This is an unprecedented case in our country's history. Yet at the same time it is symbolic, since it clearly depicts two entirely different paths, one of which follows the legal and constitutional channel, as required by the general public standards for solving problems as worked out over a period of decades.

But where the other path leads—we can only guess. However, the landmarks along this path are quite well known: Agdam, Sumgait, and Khodzhal...

So, isn't it time we went from lofty phrases such as "friendship and fraternity have no acceptable alternative" to real, serious, and permanent contacts for eliminating tension in the relations between the two neighbors? Isn't it time we stopped ignoring reality and applying various labels, and face the Problem, since it does exist and makes itself known every day and every hour? Isn't it time we finally recognized the fact that fairness cannot be forcible and cannot be imposed, especially on an entire nation? Fairness stems from the depths of the people and illuminates its path with an undying light—a way which leads to the Temple.

**Center Created for Koreans in Uzbekistan**  
18300248 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 2  
Dec 88 p 3

[UzTAG report: "Cultural Centers" "For Koreans Living in Uzbekistan"]

[Text] The organizing committee for creation of the republic's cultural center for Soviet Koreans was constituted at a meeting in Tashkent of representatives of Soviet Koreans.

A resolution adopted by the participants of the meeting notes that half a century has passed since Soviet Koreans were resettled from the Far East to Central Asia and Kazakhstan. This groundless act of politically-motivated distrust hit the older generation especially hard. But the instances of kindness, concern, and sympathy shown to the new settlers by the Uzbeks and other nationalities

will be remembered forever by the Koreans, who were made fully-privileged members of the Central Asian republics' great international family and have achieved considerable successes in various spheres of activity.

But the willful voluntarism that characterized nationality policies in the periods of stagnation and the cult of personality could not help but be reflected in the status of the Korean language, culture, and everyday life. Today perestroika's fresh breeze makes it possible for representatives of all nationalities to speak openly of the sorest problems and to seek solutions to them collectively. For the first time, Soviet Koreans are undertaking the creation of their own center of national culture. This is in full accord with the spirit of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on Nationality Relationships. And they have felt the active and benevolent support of party and soviet organs and of Uzbek society from the very first days.

The meeting's participants called on all Soviet Koreans to participate directly in the creation and the activities of the cultural center.

The organizing committee chose Professor S. M. Khan, doctor of philosophical sciences, as its chairman, and journalist V. Kim and engineer T. Khvan as its deputy chairmen.

### **Cyclone Disrupts Communications, Transportation in Odessa Oblast**

18000399 [Editorial Report] Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian on 6 December 1988 carries on page 3 a 500-word report on a "southern cyclone" that devastated Odessa's microrayons on Saturday, December 3. The storm disrupted the normal rhythm of life in many places. Service at 32 power transmission lines of 110 kilovolts, 350 power transmission lines of 10 kilovolts, and of approximately 250 substations was disrupted. Many radio communications lines were also put out of service, and 250 localities were without power. The supply of heat and water was disrupted everywhere. Transportation in the city was entirely paralyzed in the first hours of the storm. In Odessa, almost the entire network of contact lines (50-60 kilometers) for the city's electric transportation was knocked down to the ground. Commuters had to rely strictly on automobile transportation. According to A.I. Butenko, first deputy chairman of the oblispolkom, 13 rayons were affected. Specialists from other republics were sent in to help in the aftermath of the natural disaster.



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